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ABSTRACT

The book explores why nonformal education programs in Latin America fail to promote and influence desired social change. Nonformal education includes community involvement and technical training in schools after school hours, adult basic education, extension courses relating to agriculture, health, and community enterprises. The book contains seven chapters. Chapter I discusses the relationship of social policy and underdevelopment to nonformal education and suggests that different ideological perspectives of educational developers lead to inconsistencies in goal definition. Chapter II outlines relevant theoretical literature for conceptualizing education and social change. Chapters III-VI discuss nonformal education programs, including technical schools, adult education, extension and community organization programs, and integrated development programs which combine financial aid, educational expertise, community organizations, and overall objectives. The final chapter summarizes the knowledge which has been gained from nonformal education programs. It concludes that a successful strategy for nonformal education in the future will have to combine long-term alteration in man's behavior with alteration of the social structure along lines of change-strategy principles emanating from the theoretical literature. (Author/DB)

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by Thomas J. La Belle

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To my parents,

Katherine and Wendell La Belle

. . . the most important thing we are in need of is education. No matter how you get it or not, the education I believe is the first step. . . . By working together, this is an education. By joining hand to hand, is another education. By changing ideas, to each one another, is an education. Things, well, you don't know at all, someone know it, he will tell you about it, is an education.

Member of an agricultural cooperative on the Caribbean island of Dominica. Excerpted from "Bill Moyer's Journal: International Report 'The Other Caribbean.'" Educational Broadcasting Corporation, April 3, 1975.

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Preface

My interest in out-of-school or nonformal education likely began in the mid-1960s when I was a Peace Corps volunteer in Colombia. The interest stayed with me through graduate school and in 1970, a year after my arrival at the University of California, Los Angeles, the Latin American Center there received a five-year Agency for International Development Institutional grant to study alternatives to traditional education in Latin America, and I was asked to coordinate the effort. This five-year period accounted for my primary immersion into the complex issues and problems surrounding nonformal education. Two things began to bother me during this period and the apparent frustration that resulted led me to write this book. One was the lack of attention in the literature of the early 1970s to the forerunners of current nonformal education programs, and the other was the lack of a conceptual basis associated with analyzing their potentialities in the context of social change. Thus, after completing two small empirical studies and putting together an anthology on educational alternatives in Latin America I decided that I would attempt to synthesize some of the literature on nonformal education in Latin America and see what could be learned in terms of guiding future efforts. Although I had been thinking about and collecting information for several years, I did not begin to work on the project in earnest until late 1974. At that point I was able both to take a sabbatical leave from UCLA and to secure a research grant from the Inter-American Foundation.

The research was directed toward achieving the following objectives: (1) to provide insight into the nature of a sample of past and present nonformal education programs in Latin America; (2) to assess the approaches or change strategies employed in those programs; and (3) to explore the relationship between the programs and strategies and the

theoretical literature on social change. In attempting to satisfy these objectives I reviewed the available literature on nonformal education and social change and visited, in early 1975, approximately seventy nonformal education programs in ten Latin American countries. The research design was not elaborate. Once having developed a conceptual framework on social change and having reviewed the literature, I began to collect information on existing programs. Because the Inter-American Foundation is now among the major external funding agencies for micro social change programs in Latin America, I received from its staff and its library the greatest assistance in terms of choosing programs to visit. These programs generally satisfied the following broad criteria: (1) there was a directed educational aspect to the program, and (2) the program was designed to serve youth and adults who could be characterized as socioeconomically poor. I wrote a letter to the director of each program that I wanted to visit and attempted to establish a day when he or she would be available for an interview. The letter was written on UCLA stationery indicating that I was on sabbatical leave and was being supported financially by the Inter-American Foundation but that I had no other involvement with the Foundation's funding program, evaluation efforts, and so on.

When I arrived in the different countries I met with those program directors that I had communicated with by mail and made contact with many other directors of programs which, by referral, appeared novel or unique. Each interview was usually two or more hours in length, sometimes with additional members of the program staff present, and centered on three major issues: (1) the goals, objectives, and nature of the program; (2) the strategy employed in attempting to achieve the stated goals; and (3) the major obstacles, if any, encountered in attempting to achieve the stated goals. The result was a wide-ranging discussion of the program, its approaches, and its problems.

Although I could have developed a questionnaire and adopted a more standardized survey research methodology, I decided against this approach for one major reason. I knew that North American researchers, especially those not recommended by a third party and unknown to the informant, were usually viewed with considerable suspicion in light of recent Central Intelligence Agency and other U.S. government and business intrusions into Latin America. To me this meant that I would have to develop a rapid rapport with the informant. I did this by attempting to demonstrate my sincere interest in the program's efforts, by being a patient listener, and by asking questions which attempted to give the informant ample opportunity to explain the program in detail. I felt that marking answers on a standard questionnaire during

the discussion would negatively affect the climate I wanted to create during the interview and would not necessarily satisfy my overall objectives. Since I was basically interested in the approach or strategy employed in the program and wanted to report that approach as closely as possible, I felt that I would learn most by carrying on a dialogue with the director and his staff. I always ended the interview by asking for literature of both a descriptive and an evaluative type and invariably left the office with reams of the former and none of the latter.

I obviously claim no application of random sampling techniques in the visitations of selected countries or programs. I was more interested in visiting a range of possible program types than I was in visiting a majority of programs of a single type. Most programs I visited, therefore, were associated with private rather than public social promotion agencies. Although I attempted to visit representatives of each ministry of education and, as appropriate, other ministries as well, it was sometimes more difficult in these larger bureaucracies to find the knowledgeable individuals. Furthermore I was operating on the assumption, which I now hold even more strongly, that I would find private agencies to be more active in micro social change activities and that they would generally be more innovative in their approach. This search for a range of programs also affected my choice of the countries visited. I went to places where I could meet with program personnel who were involved in substantial or unique nonformal education efforts and for which I could not otherwise gain sufficient information through the literature. I'm sure that many readers will find that I have not mentioned a particular program in a certain country that they have found to be important or unique. Given the thousands of programs currently under way in Latin America I obviously had to choose among them to find examples. I do not doubt that I have chosen poorly in some cases and have left out particular efforts that should have been included. I apologize for such oversights and can only hope that another example that is mentioned here approximates the strategy employed in those not included.

There are other limitations in terms of the types of programs mentioned in the following pages. For example, I found that both in the literature and in the programs visited the emphasis was on rural rather than urban populations. Although this rural bias is especially apparent in the literature and in the attention currently being paid by governments and international agencies to rural problems, I believe the reason most visitations were made to programs with a rural emphasis results from my search for nonformal education programs that were directed to social rather than behavioral change. I mean by this that there may very well

be more nonformal education programs per se in urban areas, probably resulting from a greater density of the population there, but I found that they often do not attempt to go beyond the schooling model of information delivery. Most of the other limitations in the research result from the lack of literature available. I did not include, for example, correspondence instruction by proprietary institutions as I could find little material which would define its scope. I did find, by simply reviewing entries in telephone books in the capital cities, that such programs are extensive in Latin America. When I made inquiries, however, as to numbers of students, completion rates, and so on, I was referred to the home offices, often located in Europe and the United States. I even visited the main office of one of these agencies in Los Angeles but again recognized that it was going to be a long process to secure the kind of data sought. From that inquiry, however, I now believe that hundreds of thousands of Latin Americans may very well be enrolled in such programs. A similar lack of information combined with a lack of access prevented me from including more than just a mention of programs sponsored by the national military establishments. Here is another area of needed research in that the military may often be the only institution that has prolonged contact with the marginal population through its typically involuntary induction policy. I also did not include much information on industrial or commercial training programs that are conducted by industry and business. This topic was simply too extensive and I believed that the on-the-job type training program model was sufficiently well known and understood and was not in need of elaboration here. Other areas that I did not include are preschool programs, as they did not fall into the age criteria of youth and adult, and most higher education extension programs, as they normally do not attend to the needs of the socioeconomic poor.

I must also mention as limitations what I did not assess within each program visited or reviewed. The first is economic data. Not only did I feel that requesting economic information on the basis of a short visit would be a sensitive and inappropriate inquiry, but I felt that economic data had little to do with my interest in how a program was conceptualized and what strategy or approach was adopted in the promotion of social change. I do not mean to imply that available funding does not impact on what a program can do; I do believe, however, that the adoption of principles of social change that guide the process are not dependent on financial criteria. The second limitation in terms of looking at the operation of programs concerns the specific methods and materials of change employed. I believe that whereas one can rather quickly secure information on the way a program approaches social

change, gaining information about the methods and materials employed in, for example, directed instructional efforts, requires prolonged visitations over time. Although I saw considerable in terms of program method and materials and do report on some of them in the following pages, I cannot be sure that what I saw was indicative of their actual use when a visitor was not present.

Any field research activity depends upon the assistance and support of many individuals. I would like to begin by acknowledging the financial support and general assistance offered by the staff of the Inter-American Foundation. Although special thanks go to Bill Dyal and Paul Bell, there are many others at the foundation who assisted me in numerous ways. Among these are Ned Benner, Ross Coggins, Ed Dela Rosa, Tony Gomes, Lou Guzman, Larry Leighton, Carol Michaels, Jim O'Brien, Sal Pinzino, Tom Ramey, Marion Ritchey, and Jan Van Orman. I perhaps owe the greatest debt to the many close friends and new acquaintances in Latin America who were willing to discuss the issues concerning micro social change and nonformal education. Among those who were especially helpful and to whom I would like to express my thanks are Benjamín Alvarez, Heli Arambulo, Gerardo Bacalini, Eduardo Cabezón, Patricio Cariola, Eliseo Carrasco, Walton C. Cheeres, David Edwards, Jon Gant, Francisco Gutiérrez, Fausto Jordan, Abraham Magendzo, Juan Ramón Martínez, Luis Eduardo Medina, Alfredo Ocampo, Máximo Pacheco, Wilma de Pacheco, Reyna de Perdomo, Howard Ray, Pedro Ruiz, Humberto Serna, Bernardo Toro, and Peter White.

I am also indebted to Susan Poston of UCLA whose annotated bibliography on educational alternatives in Latin America was extremely useful as an initial guide to the literature. My thanks go as well to Ida Lees who typed the drafts of the manuscripts and to Lea Gould for her copy editing assistance.

Finally, I was extremely fortunate to be able to secure the advice of a number of colleagues and friends who read the first draft of the manuscript. These included Ned Benner, Cole Brembeck, Bill Dyal, Clark Gil, Bob Myers, David O'Shea, Rolland Paulston, Tom Ramey, Everett Rogers, and Bob Verhine. To them I offer my sincere gratitude.

Although in some way all of these individuals made a contribution to this volume, I alone take responsibility for what is expressed in the following pages.

Introduction

Nonformal education generally refers to organized out-of-school programs designed to provide specific learning experiences for specific target populations. Normally associated with so-called underdeveloped countries, the majority of such educational efforts are aimed at socioeconomically poor adults and youth and include agricultural extension, community development, consciousness raising, technical/vocational training, literacy and basic education, family planning, and similar programs. These programs are usually designed to improve the participant's power and status by either adding to his or her stock of skills and knowledge or by altering basic attitudes and values toward work and life. By concentrating on increasing the power and status of the socioeconomically poor, a discussion of nonformal education must consider more than just the goal of behavioral change in participants and instead attend to the wider social system in order to assess the ways in which that behavior interacts with both the physical and human environment. I define social change therefore as, first, a long-term alteration in man's behavior and in the relationship between that behavior and a respective human and physical environment and, second, an alteration in the rules and structures enabling this new or different behavior and relationship to be established. It is within this definition of social change that I believe nonformal education must be analyzed and assessed, and it is the socioeconomically poor to whom we must look when we wish to judge the efficacy of nonformal education efforts.

In Latin America nonformal education activities are characterized by an extended history that involves sometimes several decades and at other times several centuries. For my purposes here, these efforts can be organized into four major concentrations. The use of schools for community involvement and community action and schools as transmitters of technical/vocational skills can be viewed as one category of

such efforts. A second concentration of nonformal education programs concerns adult literacy and basic education, including consciousness-raising programs and radio schools. A third set of programs centers on extension education and community organizations with emphasis on agricultural assistance, health education, cooperatives, and community enterprises. A fourth and final concentration in nonformal education rests with community development and its latest offspring, integrated development.

As will be demonstrated through a discussion of each of these major concentrations in the following pages, only a relatively small number of these efforts at promoting social change can be characterized as having achieved their intended outcomes. The question that I attempt to address throughout the book is why, after so many years of ongoing programs in Latin America, can nearly all of these activities be labeled as unsuccessful in achieving social change goals? As I suggest in the first chapter, some would argue that the answer rests with the impotence of micro social change efforts in general given the social problems to which they must attend. Others may argue that the answer rests with the way in which underdevelopment has traditionally been analyzed, explained, and attended to within the sociocultural reality of Latin America. Referred to as the deprivation-development position, this traditional approach suggests that underdevelopment can be dealt with primarily through the introduction of technology and capital. An alternative view, referred to as the dependency-liberation thesis suggests that the underlying cause of underdevelopment rests with political and economic domination inherent in the social structure and that the response must be a liberation from such domination and vulnerability. As will be shown, the deprivation-development and dependency-liberation perspectives are incompatible not only in terms of the explanatory positions each represents but in terms of the changes desired and the processes to be emphasized. From the standpoint of achieving sought-after social goals through nonformal education programs, both the impotence of nonformal education and the explanatory frameworks used to deal with underdevelopment are important in analyzing the role of nonformal education and the change process. A third answer, compatible with the other two and the one to which I address attention, suggests that a major problem with nonformal education concerns how the social change process is conceptualized and the nature of the strategies adopted to achieve desired outcomes. In this context, neither the deprivation-development advocates nor the dependency-liberation advocates have demonstrated any greater expertise or success. Nonformal education programs from both perspectives are characterized by similar dilemmas in attempting to achieve their respective goals.

In chapter 2 I outline the theoretical literature for conceptualizing education and social change by adopting a heuristic framework based upon both a man-oriented and a more holistic approach. By man-oriented I mean those theories which emphasize changing man's internal state or his behavior and by holistic I mean those theories which emphasize the society or culture as a unit. I argue throughout the remaining chapters that the strategy, or the assumptions, plans, and methods of mobilizing resources, for nonformal education and social change must be based upon the principles arising from this review of the theoretical literature. These principles include attention to establishing linkages between the program and the components in the wider system, understanding the needs of client populations, involving clients in their own learning, facilitating the transfer and application of new behaviors in the environment, and attending to incentives both internal and external to the program.

Throughout the discussion of particular nonformal education programs in chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6, relatively few examples demonstrate any cognizance of such strategy principles. Instead, as I attempt to point out in these chapters, the overwhelming majority of the nonformal education efforts discussed are based upon a man-oriented model of social change, one which attempts to change the internal state or behavior of man without attending to the material and structural constraints in the wider social system. This orientation inevitably bypasses any consideration of the manifestation of what has been learned and thus results in few power or status benefits to the participant and little, if any, social change.

The discussion of these issues in the final chapter attempts to summarize what has been learned from the programmatic discussions and points toward a multiple interventionist strategy for nonformal education in the context of social change. While the heuristic model presented for this purpose is lacking in terms of the exacting knowledge and techniques needed to plan and design the change process, it attempts to go beyond the primarily man-oriented approach to social change and to thereby address the strategy principles emanating from the theoretical literature.

Throughout the book, the reader will find a sense of general pessimism about the potential for nonformal education given the already long and rather dismal history of program success registered in Latin America. When combined with the overwhelming structural, technological, and ideological obstacles to which nonformal education must attend, such pessimism is probably not uncalled for. At the same time, however, I do suggest that educational processes have a contribution to make to the resolution of social problems and issues. If planners and policy

makers, including those in education, can transcend the belief that education in some form or another is a panacea for resolving social problems and begin to see education as a rather minor component in a multiple intervention process, some progress toward social change objectives might be made. It is within this wider framework that any pessimism about nonformal education is based and it is not unrelated to my view of education as a reflection of society rather than as a catalyst to societal change.

1.

Social Policy, Underdevelopment, and Nonformal Education

From Mexico in the North to Chile in the South, diversity is the term most applicable to the Latin American region. Shaped by socioeconomic and political constraints both internal and external to the region, each of the more than twenty countries which constitute this area of the world has built upon its natural resources and cultural characteristics to produce within the region a variable life style recognized as distinct not only across national boundaries but within them as well. While recognizing and respecting this diversity, it can also be noted that Latin America is confronting a set of common and interrelated social problems to which solutions are being sought. This chapter outlines some of these cross-national problem areas in the context of underdevelopment and analyzes them through two ideological perspectives referred to as dependency and deprivation. The discussion centers on the implications of these two frameworks for nonformal education and social change at the micro level. Characteristics of nonformal education are discussed and the need for community-based change efforts is presented. The chapter ends by pointing to the inadequacy of our present understanding of the strategies used for fostering nonformal education programs in Latin America and the need to go beyond the process and goal implications of the dependency and deprivation frameworks.

Common Social Policy Dilemmas within a Diverse Region

Generally acceptable quantitative and qualitative indicators can be used to demonstrate diversity within Latin America. These indicators

may include natural resources and their exploitation, historical relations with centers of power in the world, patterns of land tenure, political and economic systems, race and ethnic compositions, predominant value orientations, languages spoken, religions practiced, degrees of urbanization, growth, size, and density, and so on. For discussion purposes it is possible to loosely categorize the various Latin American countries into four types in accord with more traditional economic, demographic, and social criteria (United Nations 1970). Three countries, accounting for some 13 percent of the region's population can be included in a first category as ranking highest on a traditional development continuum. These countries have relatively high levels of per capita income and production, the majority of the population lives in urban areas, population growth has slowed down, and social services are generally well developed and reach the major portion of the population. The second category includes five countries and 68 percent of the population. These nations are characterized by medium per capita incomes, relatively high rates of economic growth, considerable urbanization with large marginal urban populations, and inadequate urban-oriented social service programs. The third and fourth categories include nine to eleven countries representing 13 to 14 percent of the population. These countries are often referred to as the "relatively less developed" nations. Their per capita product and economic growth are generally low to medium; they are not well diversified economically, are dependent on exporting a few raw materials, have a majority of the population living in rural areas, have urbanization that varies from low to high depending on the opportunities available in rural and urban areas, and have inadequate but expanding delivery of social services. Even though this typology, taken from the Economic Commission for Latin America, does not include the English-speaking Caribbean countries which represent 1.5 percent of the regional population, and it classifies Cuba with 3 percent of the population separately because of its relatively unique economic and political patterns, the categories give some indication of the range of differences existing in the area. These differences within Latin America, however, do not negate the existence of many problems common to a majority of the countries in terms of social policy. I will now turn to a discussion of these continuing dilemmas beginning with population growth and following with the problems of educational expansion, the delivery of health services, employment generation, and a more equitable distribution of power through income and decision making.

In terms of population more than 300 million people, increasing at a rate of 3 percent annually, inhabit the region. By 1980, the population

is expected to reach nearly 380 million and, by the year 2000, 600 million. From the perspective of social planning there is little doubt that this kind of population growth negatively affects the capacity of all social service delivery systems. While the annual rate of population growth has risen from 1.9 percent in the 1920s and 1930s to 2.3 percent in the 1940s and 2.8 percent in the 1950s (Pearson et al. 1969), the nature of the population has become younger and thus presents a greater drain on available resources produced by the adult working population. Today some 40 percent of the population is less than fifteen years of age and approximately one-half is less than twenty years of age. This concentration at the lower age levels has resulted from both a continuation of high birth rates and a rapid decline in child mortality (UNESCO 1974*a*). Because of these occurrences, the population of working age, which in 1970 numbered 153 million, will reach about 205 million in 1980 thereby placing considerable pressure on the economy to involve additional manpower.

Much of this increased population will continue to be absorbed into rapidly expanding urban areas. Assuming that the rate of urbanization continues, for example, it is estimated that by 1980, 50 to 55 percent of the population will be living in urban centers with twenty thousand inhabitants or more. Even though fertility rates are inversely related to urbanism, explained partially by the greater availability in urban areas of techniques for limiting family size, urbanization itself is not the major determining variable of fertility. Instead, fertility tends to go down only after the newly arrived urbanites have begun to participate in and assimilate urban values and behavior. Because nearly 30 million people, or 20 percent of the region's population, currently live in urban poverty belts, many are not evidencing such characteristics (Ruddle and Barrows 1974). This means that, among other instruments, education and employment opportunities as adjuncts to urban participation must be made available rapidly in order that urbanization can contribute to reducing fertility levels (United Nations 1970).

The increasing population pressures at the younger age levels in Latin America have precipitated the second social policy area, that of education, by forcing school policy makers to expand education services at an unprecedented rate. The period 1960–70, for example, saw enrollment in the six- to eleven-year-old age range increase by 13 million students. By 1970 seventeen countries had 70 percent or more of the six to eleven age range enrolled in school whereas only six countries had 79 percent or more of the twelve to seventeen age range enrolled in school. Although the percentage of any given age cohort enrolled in school is likely to continue to increase, the actual numbers of students

not enrolled will also increase. In 1965, for example, there were some 14 million six- to eleven-year-olds out of school; by 1985 this figure is expected to reach 17 million. At the secondary school level in 1965 there were 19 million twelve- to seventeen-year-olds out of school; by 1985 this figure is expected to reach 26 million. At the primary level, population pressures will force Latin American school planners to increase enrollment by 52 percent in order to maintain 1970 enrollment ratios in 1985. This means that in order to reach universal primary education by 1985, Latin America will have to exhibit an average annual enrollment increase of 2.4 million students or, in other words, exceed the 1965–70 period by one million students annually.

Although schools are being built and teachers trained to accommodate the new students, existing school programs are plagued by high dropout rates. In 1967, for example, of those who entered first grade, only 59 percent reached second grade, 50 percent third grade, and 42 percent fourth grade (UNESCO 1974*b*). Those who do not reach the next grade level, or in this case drop out of school, vary considerably between rural and urban areas. A recent calculation by the World Bank (1974) reports that in the urban areas of Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, and Panama some 51 percent complete primary school whereas in the rural areas of the same countries only 22 percent of those who enter finish their primary studies. I will return to a broader discussion of educational issues later in this chapter.

A third social policy area of importance to a majority of Latin American countries is the health status of the population. Indicators of health levels in Latin America, given the broad approach of most public health programs in the world, include physical, mental, and social well-being, or more generally an individual's quality or level of living. Although considerable progress has been made in recent decades in slashing mortality rates, attention remains directed at the control of mass disease and the raising of health status through inoculations, insecticides, improved water supplies and sewage systems, waste disposal and sanitation, nutrition, and so on. An example of one of these problem areas can be seen in the availability of potable water supplies. In 1970 potable water reached only 24 percent of Latin America's rural population and only about 3 to 5 percent of the rural populations of Haiti, Bolivia, and Brazil (United Nations 1974). Although public health programs have been equally concerned with curative and preventive health services, growing attention is being placed on morbidity as opposed to mortality rates. An example of this concern is in the area of nutrition where it is known that the diet of most of the population of Latin America, based principally on carbohydrates, is inadequate in quality and, for many,

inadequate in quantity. It is estimated that 7 percent of the children in Latin America are severely malnourished and an additional 45 percent suffer from moderate nutritional deficiencies (Ruddle and Barrows 1974). The importance of this area can be seen from research which points to irreversible brain damage caused by malnutrition among children during the first year and a half of life (Scrimshaw 1966). Of all the social policy areas, health is likely to be the most difficult to isolate as it is dependent on so many other variables. Among these other variables are food supplies, trade policies, income distribution, consumer prices, legislation on food quality, agriculture reform and land tenure, urbanization, transportation, level of socioeconomic development, and so on.

A fourth social policy area, and one on which many of the other problems depend, is employment. Some recent trends in this area for the region as a whole suggest that although the percentage of the working population employed in agriculture has steadily declined in recent years from 53.4 percent in 1950 to about 42 percent at the end of the 1960s, the number of individuals so engaged has increased. During the period from 1950 to 1965 the proportion employed in manufacturing industries declined slightly (from 14.4 percent to 14.0 percent) while those employed in construction and basic services increased (from 8.0 percent to 9.2 percent). The remainder of the working population, which is growing at slightly less than the annual rate of 3 percent, has been absorbed by other services and has grown from 23.1 percent in 1950 to 31.3 percent in 1965. Although such economic indicators vary from country to country, it is this tertiary or services sector which has become the haven for surplus manpower in many countries, and it is the manufacturing industry sector which has been unable to absorb the newly arrived urban dweller through the creation of employment opportunities. Part of the explanation for this situation rests with the historical emphasis in Latin America on the exportation of primary commodities and the importation of manufactured goods (United Nations 1970).

Even though the industrial, construction, and services sectors showed a relatively high expansion in 1971 and 1972, agricultural growth declined and employment remained a grave problem as the use of laborsaving machinery and a consequent move away from labor-intensive and toward capital-intensive industry continued (Ruddle and Barrows 1974). Although agrarian reform programs have been initiated in several Latin American countries, much of the land, and almost all of the best land, remains in a few hands. These latifundia, along with the newer commercial agricultural enterprises, use extensive farming methods which require relatively little manpower. The minifundia, or

family holdings of between five and ten hectares, accommodate the large proportion of the rural population whose production methods are labor intensive and who are dependent on a series of middlemen for the resources to plant and harvest as well as to transport and market their product. Whereas some peasants are organizing in order to lobby and pressure for land distribution and social benefits, the majority continue to eke out an existence on dwindling parcels which are decreasing in production capacity, or are landless and live at a bare subsistence level as seasonal wage earners, sharecroppers, or through other expedient mechanisms. These conditions have led to an increasing out-migration to urban areas where, as has been suggested, the opportunity structure provides few channels of societal incorporation (United Nations 1970).

A final problem in the social policy arena to be considered here concerns the issue of social justice or the more equitable distribution of power through income and decision making. Typically this aspect of traditional national development policy is treated with less concern than economic growth which projects macro data indicators such as GDP, GNP, international balances of trade, and so on. Such indicators seldom assess the impact on the marginal population or the masses who survive in a state of limited or nonexistent involvement in the development process. The marginal individual is poor, is unable to exercise his civil rights, and is subject to socioeconomic dependence on others who profit from his labor and his vote. The marginal individual remains as a member of the majority group numerically in much of Latin America yet is segregated from societal structures as a whole.

Within the pyramid-shaped Latin American class structure and above the marginal majority, two major social classes can be drawn. Traditionally, at the peak of the pyramid is the oligarchy or elite population which exercises the economic and political power, controls the sources of prestige, and works for its own advantage. Power is derived from control over natural resources (e.g., land, mining) as well as from manufacturing and industry. The elites are internationalists. They attend equally to economic and political activity outside as well as inside their national boundaries and they are often more aligned with their own self-interests than they are with those of nation building (Wolf and Hansen 1972). The other major social sector or class is constituted at the middle of the pyramid and is characterized primarily by its entrepreneurial and wage-earning status, its use of education for mobility, and its modeling of elite behavior. The lower side of the middle sector may also include organized labor in the form of trade unions in such areas as industry, commerce, and the large service sector.

Within this bottom-heavy social structure the marginal dweller has had few if any vertical mobility channels available to him which have actually functioned on his behalf. Traditionally the Latin American military and the Catholic Church have offered some limited mobility opportunities. The successful entrepreneur might also have been able to raise his level of living and thereby his power and status if he had been fortunate enough to acquire sufficient resources and personal contacts. Although many have viewed the school as a mechanism for escaping marginality and poverty, it too has proved to be little more than an object of frustration given its legitimation in society as a selection mechanism for the upper strata (La Belle and Verhine 1975). Mobility itself, however, may be only an aspect of what is being sought. The wider objective is likely to be greater autonomy for both self and family as well as a share in the national resources. As urban traits and industrial products from the metropole economies reach further and further into the fabric of Latin American society, including the rural areas, desires for social services and social rights by the marginal population will inevitably expand. It is clear, however, that income distribution, employment opportunities, and political organization are among the demands which will not be fully satisfied without basic structural reforms.

POLAR VIEWS: DEPENDENCY AND DEPRIVATION

The state of so-called underdevelopment found in parts of Latin America, as evidenced by some of the preceding discussion, can be interpreted and partially explained through two major theses. The first, known as *dependency*, argues that underdevelopment derives from political and economic intervention and control associated with larger worldwide structures and influence. The second, which I will refer to here as the *deprivation* thesis embodies some of the structural and institutional concerns of dependency but points primarily to inappropriate and traditional value systems, social structures, technology, and behavior evidenced by Latin American populations. Within each of these two polarized approaches there are many differing and conflicting assumptions. The intent here is to provide a general overview of each position in order to guide the later discussion of nonformal education.

Dependency is often viewed as internal and external. Internal dependency argues that there exists within many Latin American countries a structural dualism involving two semi-independent systems. One of these is associated with the modern, outward-looking, and capitalist-oriented elite and the other is associated with the dominated and traditional marginal or oppressed populations who are either unable

or do not desire to participate in the more modern institutions. Although it is difficult to envision these two systems as impermeable, the important point I believe is that the relationship is primarily unidirectional with the modern sector exploiting and controlling the traditional not only through economic and political means but through the media, the church, and other mechanisms which effectively isolate the dominated sector from decision-making participation. Structurally, therefore, members of the traditional sector find themselves unable to function satisfactorily socially, economically, or politically and thus to exercise their social rights. External dependency extends the concept of internal dependency by positing that relationships among nations are conditioned by the dominant economic partner as in the case of many Latin American nations and their association with the United States. The argument suggests that international capitalism has created and fostered a relationship upon which Latin America is dependent for its economic and political processes. Thus, the dominant partners nurture the growth of the dependents in order that the former can rely upon the latter's production and resources for their own sustenance (Gunder Frank 1967). As with internal dependency, the dominated are subject, without decision-making participation, to the encroachment of such international mechanisms as the mass media, consumerism, and other social and cultural influences which potentially have a homogenizing effect in shaping a world community.

Wolf and Hansen (1972) argue that international elites, including those of Latin America, have formed an interlocking system in which efforts at rationalizing production to increase efficiency and profits have effectively moved attention from Latin America's national development problems to the international marketplace. This outward-looking emphasis by Latin American elites has precipitated a separation between elites and masses. The capital-intensive system which has evolved has left no function for Latin American labor as it is irrelevant to the means of production. As a result and parallel to the economic "divorce" between elites and masses there has also emerged a social and cultural void as there no longer exist political reasons for the elite to attend to the existence of the masses. As Wolf and Hansen comment:

> To implement rationalization, cost accounting in productivity is a large factor, and wages and personnel must be kept at a minimum to maximize profit. That means that there simply is not enough room for all of the job seekers to find full-time employment, because there is not enough of a new economy to provide the jobs. Nor can there be any guarantee that the economy will develop with national interests like full employment as a goal, because the economy is geared to metropolitan demands and sanctions. Herein lies the dilemma of the Latin

American elite: as economic development of a *restrictive* nature increases, the divorce between elites and masses becomes more absolute. [1972:356]

Although some critically responded to the dependency advocates by pointing to their one-sided and exaggerated view of the role of international capitalism (Nove 1974), many still concur that the social structural rigidity in Latin America and the reinforcing activities of dominant international powers are not in the best interests of long-range humanitarian goals for the majority. At the same time, however, it should be stated that while the dependency theory enables one to analyze and promote social class struggle in order to resolve societal contradictions, it provides few clear strategies at the local level for restructuring a society. Given the sweeping arguments of the advocates of the theory one is left with little more than the need to carry out widespread structural reforms of both the national and international systems. As I point out later, most of the implications for education are associated with consciousness-raising programs designed to enhance an individual's critical understanding of his reality.

The deprivation thesis for explaining underdevelopment, while attending to some of the structural concerns of the dependency theorists, tends to place attention on what is often viewed, from the economic growth perspective, as inappropriate and traditional values, social structures, technology, and behavior. I have borrowed the term deprivation for application here from the formerly widely held notion in education circles in the United States during the 1960s that children from other than Anglo middle-class family backgrounds were culturally deprived relative to the majority population. I sense that underdevelopment in this context is viewed in much the same way; it is suggested that Latin America is underdeveloped because the inhabitants do not share, among other aspects, the same organizational and decision-making structures or modern attitudes and entrepreneurial behavioral patterns common to so-called developed countries.

The assumptions underlying the deprivation thesis suggest that progress is achieved by spreading modernism to backward areas through the application of primarily technology and capital. The goal is to encourage the manipulation of natural resources (e.g., land, minerals) by skilled and creative entrepreneurs in order to generate wealth in the form of income and savings which in turn can be used to produce and consume. Development, or per capita production and the nation's income and international commercial performance, is among the primary criteria for judging progress. Industrialization and commercialization are central components in achieving success. Although there is little

doubt that the wealth of a nation conceived in this way provides an indication of a certain type of social progress, what has been missing until very recently has been any real concern for the distribution of these resources to the wider population. Social justice in terms of income and decision-making power have been conspicuously absent from the traditional development strategies; although the individual has been the object of development, few have been concerned with which individuals would emerge as the real beneficiaries.

One of the predominant arguments underlying the deprivation thesis concerns Latin American values. It is suggested that value orientations in Latin America are not compatible with development, defined as economic growth, because they do not emphasize science and technology, they are not instrumental, and they are more symbolic rather than achievement oriented (United Nations 1970). Whereas some would contend that changing such values through directed educational programs is a major solution, others envision them as a result of the conditions associated with structural rigidity and view the resolution in terms of wider societal reforms. As Rául Prebisch implies, such efforts must be broad and all encompassing:

> The acceleration of development demands sweeping change in structures and in mental attitudes. They are essential if technical progress is to be assimilated, its advantages turned to account, its contradictions resolved, and its adverse effects counteracted; and essential also for the promotion of social mobility, both for its own sake and because it too is one of the indispensable requirements of technological progress. Social mobility is not merely a matter of general education and technical training; it is a basic question of structures. [1971:12]

The danger apparent in the implicit comparison of a so-called Latin American value orientation with that of a more industrialized nation rests with the assumption that there is only one model for social progress and that the world population must pursue that model in order to achieve economic and social development. Under such a premise, changes in value systems inevitably rest with the Latin Americans as the extension of the deprivation argument would absolve the already developed countries from any responsibility for Latin America's underdevelopment.

Other examples of the deprivation thesis often arise from the question of values. In politics, for example, the Latin American system is characterized as personalistic with power distributed to a select number of interest groups through a series of written or unwritten agreements. Such factions strive to protect their own interests as well as to exclude those of others in a series of compromises and newly-formed pacts (United Nations 1970). Assuming these generalizations to be correct,

political structures are viewed by outsiders as incompatible for long-term development planning. To outsiders the structure appears overly diffuse, lacking in continuity, and demanding considerable time, effort, and expense in order to keep all competing groups either inside or outside the political process.

As presented here neither the dependency nor the deprivation explanation for underdevelopment in Latin America is tenable. Instead, there are portions of each position which can increase our understanding and direct our efforts for designing change strategies. One of the initial positions of compromise must concern the question of processes and goals. As Denis Goulet has stated: "The crucial question is: will 'underdeveloped' societies become mere consumers of technological civilization or agents of their own transformation? *At stake, therefore, is something more than a war over words; the battle lines are drawn between two conflicting interpretations of historical reality, two competing principles of social organization.* The first values efficiency and social control above all else, the second social justice and the creation of a new man" (1971:8). Within economic growth goals, therefore, we must attend to the vulnerability of Latin Americans to world political and economic forces which leave them with weak bargaining positions and a dependent status. There is little doubt that these are social structural issues which, emanating from positions of national and international bases of power, must be addressed at an equivalent level.

Another aspect of compromise between the dependency and deprivation theories relates to the outsider's perception of Latin American values and processes. We must seek to explain behavioral patterns in Latin America through other than a social pathological model which attributes cultural deprivation to a viable sociocultural system. A cultural relativist's approach is needed in which it is possible to separate the explanation of a population's behavior, based upon the rules and norms adopted by that population, from judgments on that same population which are derived from a separate sociocultural system. Inherent in such a position is an avoidance of comparisons between the outsider's desired goals, based upon his perceptions of what is appropriate, and the host country population's multiple positions relative to what is needed or sought. From the social justice standpoint, for example, there appears to be little gained by labeling a population's behavior or values as backward when implicitly there exists no entirely viable sociocultural model which can be categorized as absolutely modern. As we have learned during the last decade in the field of education, there is much to be gained by treating others as collaborators rather than students, as knowledgeable rather than as ignorant, and

as products of their environment and culture rather than as unfortunates deprived of a life style which someone else believes must be appropriate for all.

Social Change and Popular Participation

As the gap between rich and poor in Latin America and elsewhere continues to widen, indicating that little of the progress achieved in national development during the past decades has reached the broad masses, most would concur that the future holds more of the same unless attention is directed at incorporating the poor into national development programs. The need to change social structures through the creation of an entrepreneurial middle class or the mobilization of a peasant population toward participation in the national market is well represented in the national development literature (Schumpeter 1961). Such efforts, in turn, are related to altering industrial structures, planning and decision-making processes, and methods of international bilateral or multilateral assistance. These are only examples of the complex and interrelated aspects of a local, regional, and national development strategy. My interest, however, is in the area of micro change processes directed at the marginal populations in Latin America and designed to foster a more equitable distribution of individual and collective power through income and decision making. Thus my attention will be directed primarily to the strategies employed in community-based programs involving popular participation and collective action by the lower socioeconomic strata with direction and leadership coming from both within and outside of the target population.

Popular participation in the development process can foster different purposes depending on whose interests are being served. From the standpoint of the political and economic decision makers, the mobilization of the masses may be viewed in terms of the creation of new consumer markets, the homogenization of ethnic and cultural differences, or the pacification of potentially volatile sectors. Ideologues and social change strategists may, on the other hand, see such mass participation as a way to alter and promote structural change on behalf of the participants themselves. Associated with this latter view are those who argue that a prerequisite to, or parallel aspect of, social change rests with the organization of the masses as a political and economic force. Still others see the need, primarily psychological, for the masses to overcome alienation and to encourage a sense of power, autonomy, belonging, and self-worth. These, and other positions supporting popular participation are evident implicitly, and often explicitly, in many of

the micro social change programs in Latin America. Whereas some programs are attempts at goal-free change processes with the participants determining their own ends and means, others are more directed as outsiders establish themselves as either brokers between the masses and the larger society or as controlling agents who create new dependency relationships.

The majority of these primarily community or regionally based popular participation programs involve the cognitive, affective, physical, or material enhancement of the participants as they pursue their normal occupational and social roles within society. Whereas some are utopian and directed at goals, intangible or tangible, which cannot be reached through the means and methods at hand, others are directed toward concrete ends which are manageable and feasible. Few of those which seek radical, large-scale reforms relative to the existing social order survive; others, which are small and seek minor changes, avoid major confrontations, and probe for openings in the wider structures are often the ones which can claim some success. It is assumed here that community-based participatory development programs are clearly not the sole answer to the marginality of Latin America's poor; instead, they form one response mechanism on a local community level which, if combined with other more widespread structural reforms, have some potential for improving the quality of life of participants.

Although the organization of such programs is typically initiated by individuals outside of the community, the concerns which bring the participants together and their personal characteristics are varied. They may share a common religious, ethnic, or language pattern, or they may be wage earners or producers, or they may simply live in the same area or community. Their interests may be shared in terms of education, material assistance, consumption, production, or civil rights. Organizationally the participants may form self-help community organizations, cooperatives, trade unions, and so on. Whereas some organizations are state or nationwide, like trade or labor unions, the majority appear to be smaller in scope and at most include a region or area within a state or province. Their size, however, does not mean that the various programs are not articulated with other state or national organizations. As will be demonstrated in a subsequent chapter, such institutional articulation is often of a vertical rather than a horizontal nature as local programs seek social and political legitimacy or financial assistance from the national or international level. The lack of horizontal articulation is related to the need for stronger vertical ties as competition for legitimacy and the accompanying funds tends to separate rather than coalesce various programs. This autonomy and isolationism is especially

apparent among programs which have similar methods and aims and are directed at the same types of clients or participants.

Although the leadership for such programs may be found internally among the participants, the initiation of the program and continuing guidance and assistance most often emanates from external agencies, institutions, or individuals. Even though governments are involved in such programmatic efforts, the majority of the institutions involved are private, nonprofit, humanitarian or development-oriented agencies which derive their funds from related national and international agencies, churches, philanthropists, and so on. These middle-level agencies or brokers carry out the articulation of the particular program with other agencies, seek economic and political support, bring to the situation the necessary resources, and are actively involved in guiding if not directing the programmatic efforts. Although spontaneous internal leadership is not uncommon among participants, such individuals must relate to the brokers in order to move the program in desired directions and sustain organizational and collective strength.

EDUCATION AND MICRO SOCIAL CHANGE

Education, viewed here as the diffusion of attitudes, information, and skills as well as the learning derived from simple participation in community-based programs, is a fundamental component in micro social change efforts. Education, both externally directed and self-initiated, refers to the process by which individuals learn to function cognitively, affectively, and psychomotorically within their environments. The importance of education for the marginal dweller in Latin America can be seen in his need to learn the rules which guide the wider social process emanating from urban centers and the knowledge of how to use or attempt to change such rules for his own ends. Further, the marginal man must have skills which make him, the product he produces, and the methods by which he interacts with others competitive in the marketplace. Such learning should be viewed as a complement to rather than as a substitute for what the participant already knows from his own life experience. The object is to foster experiences which enable an individual to acquire the information and skills needed to search out alternative goals and methods for the resolution of perceived needs and problems. Thus within directed educational efforts the goal is to enable participants to learn new ways of manipulating their social and physical environments.

We have traditionally placed the burden of this and most other types of education on the school. Education, therefore, is often viewed synonymously with schooling rather than as a life-to-death process in which the individual is learning to cope with life through self-directed

and other-directed experiences. Education as experience is likely, therefore, to be equated to the work of the school teacher whose task it is to pass on the cultural heritage as seen from the perspective of a particular socioeconomic, political, or religious order. Whereas most would admit that the most important and lasting education in terms of survival emanates from daily experience outside schools, the "important" and "right" education is often viewed as that which takes place in schools. Those without the schooling experience, therefore, are often perceived as being of less worth as evidenced by their lack of diplomas or credentials certifying that they have legitimately passed the screening for adulthood and are able to participate in the workplace and in the larger society.

Whether education is viewed as schooling or life experience, the process and the goals are never neutral. The family, the church, and the nation, as well as one's own natural environment, shape one's information, skills, and values. Whereas in simpler, more isolated societies such alternatives are extremely limited, in more complex, industrialized societies the options are greater. Nevertheless, education, whether it be institutionalized or not, generally reflects an existing socioeconomic and political order. Education is seldom, therefore, an agent of change; instead it usually reinforces the rules associated with a particular way of life. When the rules change, as with a Castro in Cuba or an Allende in Chile, education follows the new orientations and is used to reinforce a different social order.

It can be hypothesized that when education is removed from schools and applied at the micro level in concert with other socioeconomic and technological interventions, it tends to gain slightly in its ability to lead rather than follow other social change. This is especially the case when the education program is not directed at challenging the existing social order but instead works within accepted rules and methods for the enhancement of the individual and the nation. If an education or micro social change program goes beyond incremental change, however, and adopts goals or methods which appear to threaten vested interests within the social structure such programs must generally remain small so as not to attract attention from those who stand to lose most from the program's success. Although these constraints are discouraging to the utopian revolutionary, they are nevertheless much less severe than those associated with the school. The school, as a bureaucracy, is dependent on a system of mass production with the decisions affecting its operation emanating from managers whose interest is efficiency and control. In schools, universalistic rather than particularistic criteria are applied to the issues of teacher and student recruitment and selection, curricula,

grades, diplomas, and so on. The school is based on a meritocratic hierarchy of levels and prerequisites which it uses to legitimate its existence as *the* educational institution. These characteristics leave the school with little flexibility in approaching social change among marginal populations where the participants are unable to cope with the school's metropolitan-oriented processes and goals and often reject them as both irrelevant and unimportant. The result is a large number of dropouts from the lower socioeconomic status groups along with a relatively small number of individuals from the higher socioeconomic status levels who reap the benefits of a secondary and a higher education.

Because of the limitations associated with the school establishment and its tendency to view education as an end in itself rather than as a process linking man with his environment, and because of societal pressures and limited financial resources for perpetuating the school model, many have seen the need to look beyond the school as the only widely accepted mode of organized education. Emphasis in education throughout the world during the decade of the 1950s and most of the 1960s was on expanding schools in order to remain ahead of population growth. The assumption was that the school was an important vehicle for social change and the national development process. Although occupational and citizenship goals were implicit in the assumptions underlying the school expansion model, the faith in schooling as a panacea for economic development and nation building overshadowed all other social service strategies for overcoming the ills of underdevelopment. In recent years, however, there has been a growing disenchantment on the part of both educators and social scientists with formal schooling's potential for satisfactorily achieving these far-reaching goals. This disillusionment, the product perhaps of an overestimation of the school's capabilities in light of the problems present, is the major reason for the current interest in educational alternatives, especially nonformal education in developing areas.

Formal, nonformal, and informal education.—Although some would argue that the major impetus to the search for educational alternatives came from those who saw the school as ineffective, inefficient, and often irrelevant to the clients being served, others would argue that the impetus came from the fact that the school was losing ground to population growth in the presence of extreme financial pressures for school expansion. Still others might point to the nature of the educational system itself which generates its own demand for its existence through fostering a vertical hierarchy dysfunctional to employment realities. Finally, some would suggest that the school is inherently biased in favor of urban middle- and upper-class populations who,

because of their sociocultural background when combined with the demands of schools, do better in terms of achieving school success. With the current interest in fostering development goals through increasing mass participation in the process itself, this inegalitarian ethos reflected in schools does not augur well for the school's contribution to equality of opportunity objectives.

Because we have tended to view education as that which takes place in schools, we have failed to realize the potentialities that a wider view of education may offer. In light of the search for alternatives we should begin by treating education on a continuum from informal to nonformal and finally formal education. Coombs and Ahmed (1974:8), who equate education with learning, define these terms as follows: informal education is "the lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment"; nonformal education is "any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children." The major difference between these two processes rests with the deliberate instructional and programmatic emphasis present in nonformal education but absent in informal education. The third or formal mode of learning is defined by the authors as the "institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured educational system, spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university."

Paulston (1972) defines these educational types similarly through the use of a concentric circle model. At the center, or core of the model, he places formal education, followed in the second ring by nonformal education, and in the third ring by informal education. In addition, he adds a fourth, or an international education ring, which includes influences derived from outside of one's national boundaries. Paulston's definition of nonformal education differs from Coombs and Ahmed's in terms of emphasis. He states that nonformal education is "structured, systematic, nonschool educational and training activities of relatively short duration in which sponsoring agencies seek concrete behavioral changes in fairly distinct target populations" (Paulston 1972:ix). Cole Brembeck (1973) adopts a similar, but somewhat broader, definition of nonformal education. He states that nonformal education "deals with those learning activities that take place outside the formally organized educational system . . . to educate toward some *specific goals*, under the sponsorship of an *identifiable person, group, or organization*" (Brembeck 1973:xvi).

In practice, informal, nonformal, and formal learning should be

viewed as predominant modes or modes of emphasis rather than as discrete entities. In terms of micro social change programs, for example, it has become popular to refer to nonformal education, or the out-of-school instructional processes, as the educational mode in use. Whereas nonformal education may be the predominant mode in such efforts, we must attend as well to the informal learning which occurs from simple participation in social change programs. Thus the objective is to harness as many modes of education as possible within the change process. For example, in a micro social change program designed to foster consumer or producer cooperatives, the nonformal education mode is generally limited to the technical assistance process, the role of the change agent, or the instructional products used in fostering new behaviors among participants. Attention, therefore, is directed to the deliberate instruction designed to foster cooperation by participants and to the administration and organization of a cooperative. Following the instructional, or nonformal education process, however, the participants function in the cooperative by learning from each other as well as by trial and error associated with simple participation. We can refer to this latter mode as an informal characteristic of nonformal education or that which is derived from daily experience. If diplomas are associated with the deliberate instruction in the management of a cooperative we may refer to the process as a formal characteristic of a predominantly nonformal educational mode. Thus when we view education as a component in micro social change programs we need to recognize that there exist predominant and secondary modes and that these processes may be of equal importance in achieving stated objectives.

Figure 1 attempts to treat formal, nonformal, and informal education as predominant educational modes rather than as discrete entities. In terms of the formal education mode, for example, we can take the formal characteristics of formal education and arrive at the Coombs and Ahmed definition of the school. Nonformal implications of formal education may be extracurricular activities whereas informal implications may be peer group processes. Within the nonformal education mode, the formal characteristics may lead to the granting of badges or certificates, the nonformal characteristics to the out-of-school definition of Coombs and Ahmed, and the informal characteristics of nonformal education to institutional participation. Finally, within the informal education mode, there may exist formal characteristics associated with certain rites of passage as in bush schools in simple societies, nonformal characteristics associated with deliberate parental instruction, and informal characteristics of informal education which lead us to the informal education definition of Coombs and Ahmed.

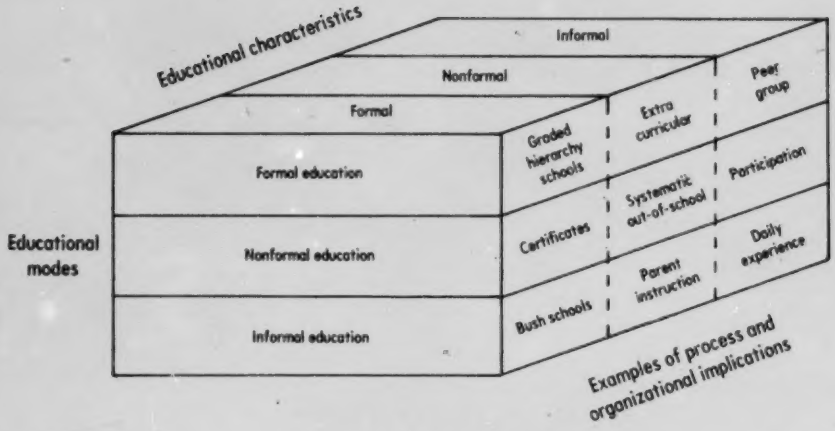

Figure 1. Formal, nonformal, and informal educational relationships

The purpose inherent in attempting to broaden our perception of education is to enable program planners to take advantage of both primary and secondary modes and not be tied to any one mode as a discrete entity. The intent is to use figure 1 as a heuristic device rather than as a mechanism to categorize all educational phenomena. Thus its purpose is to show the interrelationships among modes and to alert us to the potentials inherent in each.

Although emphasis on the nonformal education mode is currently in vogue, the social change activities to which it draws attention, as will be seen in subsequent chapters, often encompass both formal and informal education as well. The majority of such programs are derived from a long historical tradition in attempting to provide education for youth and adults for whom formal education has proved either inappropriate or unavailable. Such programs include agricultural extension, community development, consciousness raising, technical/vocational training, literacy and basic education, health and family planning, consumer and producer cooperatives, and so on. At times, nonformal education is the major mechanism for introducing change. These

interventions may be associated with radio broadcasts, community newspapers, or consciousness-raising dialogues. In general, such programs stand alone and do not form part of a more integrated project within which education has a role to play as a component but not as an exclusive agent. Where nonformal education is integrated with other components, one normally encounters such additional interventions as credit, technology, organizational activities, marketing, and so on.

Callaway (1973) provides some insight into the general nature of nonformal education efforts by outlining some of their common characteristics. He writes that nonformal education programs generally (1) complement formal education; (2) are diverse in terms of organization, sponsorship, and methods of instruction; (3) are voluntary and appeal to a wide range of ages, backgrounds, and interests; (4) do not lead to credentials or diplomas; (5) exist where the clientele live and work; and (6) are flexible and adaptable in terms of timing, duration, and purpose. Likewise, the literature on nonformal education suggests that such programs often are lacking in (1) resources to carry out intended programs and to admit the number of individuals attempting to matriculate; (2) organization and collaboration, resulting in considerable duplication of effort; (3) evaluation of outcomes in terms of effects; (4) incentives to enable clients to complete the program (e.g., job placement); and (5) understanding of the social change process in terms of developing a strategy for effectively achieving intended outcomes. Although these constraints often explain the problems associated with nonformal education in the context of social change, the nature of the program must be viewed through the ideological assumptions underlying an explanation of underdevelopment. We return therefore to the earlier discussion of dependency and deprivation in order to understand how these positions influence the change process. I will refer to the programmatic efforts of the dependency theorists as liberation and to those of the deprivation theorists as development.

DEPENDENCY-LIBERATION AND DEPRIVATION-DEVELOPMENT: PROGRAMMATIC IMPLICATIONS

One of the first individuals to effectively articulate the need for educational alternatives among the liberationists in Latin America was Ivan Illich (1968, 1970). He argued that since universal schooling is beyond the means of developing countries, and since education is recognized as the only legitimate avenue for participation in society, schools are destined to provide privileges for the few at the cost of the majority. They tend to produce an educational caste system by dividing society into two distinct classes: one composed of those with credentials

and the other made up of those without. These credentials do not, according to Illich, reflect an individual's ability to function in a particular capacity as much as they denote his membership in society's elite group. Illich envisions educational alternatives as nonbureaucratic, noninstitutionalized in form and dependent upon an individual's desire to pursue experiences made available by opening libraries, museums, laboratories, industries, and so on. Also, he would encourage individuals with particular interests to form ad hoc groups for verbal exchange and study at convenient locales.

Everett Reimer (1971), a colleague of Illich at the Center for Intercultural Documentation in Cuernavaca, Mexico, believes that schools, by incorporating and transmitting a particular ideology, have become a "universal church" of a technological society. Reimer indicates that schools accomplish this reinforcement of a "closed technological society" by functioning in four distinct and interrelated ways: first, they act as babysitters or custodial institutions thus prolonging childhood roles; second, they sort the youth of a nation into the social structure and thereby reinforce a meritocracy; third, they indoctrinate the young to accept conformity, social hierarchy, and traditional political and economic ideology; and fourth, schools develop skills and knowledge for success in accord with technological and associated ideological criteria. Both Illich and Reimer see these four functions as often being in conflict, making schools amorphous and inefficient. They argue for a change in ideology and thus a change in society—a change which demands new educational modes.

Whereas many viewed the positions of Illich and Reimer as threats to the educational establishment and thus defended formal schools, other individuals appeared to see these radical approaches to education as a catalyst for introspection. Many also realized that Illich and Reimer were basically opposed to class structure, hierarchically organized societies, and open-ended progress, all of which dictate that so-called lesser developed societies move toward the acceptance of western-oriented value systems. In short, Illich and Reimer were viewed by many as proponents of a person-centered and more egalitarian society where education could become a tool for "conviviality." This position involved an emphasis on alternative future societies along with alternative educational processes. As Denis Goulet (1971) pointed out during this same period, the goal of social change programs should be liberation—both as a process and as an objective. Liberation seeks to enable the individual to overcome domination and vulnerability. It does not necessarily measure outcomes in terms of income or material benefits gained but instead by the processes which take place. Liberation is

concerned with a more equitable distribution of decision-making power leading to control over the change process rather than adjustment to it.

Although the liberationists may or may not be providing convincing arguments, their influence has been considerable at both the popular and the policy-making levels in Latin America. The educational implications of such a position, however, are as yet unclear. Whereas such names as Illich and Reimer are associated with some of the liberation orientations, these orientations are not definitive as to what shape educational programs might take in accord with dependency conditions. I sense that the purest and most articulate response by an educator is that offered by the Brazilian Paulo Freire. Briefly, Freire offers a humanistic response, supposedly nonmanipulative, in which the peasant is viewed as a subject not an object of reality. He suggests that the transformation of society and its social structure must be based upon the reflection and action of individuals who opt for the humanization of man. The educator or change agent in this process must be aware of reality and cannot claim neutrality toward the world. At the same time, however, the educator cannot prescribe his own option to others as that is manipulation and inevitably leads to the dehumanization of man. Freire's response to dependency, therefore, is *conscientización* or consciousness raising. The result is individuals who are aware of their reality, who have reflected on it and criticized it, and who opt for changing it in accord with humanistic principles.

In Latin America today, the term conscientización is easily found in private and public agencies as a basic premise underlying social change programs. Many educational reforms in recent years have incorporated some aspect of consciousness raising in their out-of-school and extension activities. Although the term has taken on programmatic orientations different from those intended by Freire, often leaving in its wake little more than the objective of a more aware peasant population, there are many who are committed to the underlying principles as well.

Whereas the consciousness raising or liberation response to underdevelopment takes several forms, the process generally involves a group-oriented dialogue between and among peasants and a group coordinator. Freire designed the dialogue around the reality of the individual through the use of photographs or drawings which portrayed the environment of the participants. He also applied the process to literacy training in which individuals, confronted with a pictorial representation of their reality, would learn to read and write the words which they themselves use to portray that reality. Since Freire's work in the early 1960s, other variations and applications of consciousness

raising have emerged. One of these, until recently known as the "total language" approach and now referred to as "pedagogy of communication," builds upon the confrontation-with-reality premise but expands the process by including objects drawn from the communication media. In other words, instead of using symbolic representations of one's environment, this approach uses as objects all phenomena transmitted by the mass media. The praxis or action dimension following dialogue and reflection on the object can then take the form of art, music, dance, oral and written expression, and so on. The pedagogy of communication program has been spearheaded by Catholic educators in Latin America and is being applied in and out of formal educational institutions. Another programmatic example of an extension of consciousness raising is currently being used in Ecuador by the University of Massachusetts under AID support. This program is built around games, like monopoly, through which individuals engage in simulating the conditions of life and are thereby expected to increase their awareness of the legal, political, and cultural constraints which operate in their environment.

One final example of a liberation-type educational response to underdevelopment is in order. Known as "rural animation," this response was initiated in Senegal and has recently appeared in Central America. The orientation here is again dialogue and reflection but it takes a somewhat different form. Village representatives are invited to participate in a three- or four-day meeting around their verbalization of needs and interests in conjunction with a group of individuals known as the animation team. Issues normally revolve around taxes, politics, change, and so on. Role playing, sociodrama, and other forms of participatory activities are used to address the issues. After the meeting, the delegates return to their village to discuss similar issues. The process is open-ended and highly participatory and places considerable stress on group decision making and action. The idea centers on enabling peasants to articulate their own needs (Ryckmus 1971). Whereas rural animation can be used as a preliminary step toward organizing a village for community-development-type acctivities, it need not be forced in a particular direction.

From my point of view the major lesson to be learned from these programs concerns the ways in which educators perceive and treat participants. Liberationists have, like educational philosophers before them, demonstrated that our pedagogical methods have involved primarily a vertical relationship with teachers dominating and students passively following. We have assumed that people are empty vessels waiting to be filled up with information that we believe they should

know. Missionaries, community development workers, and extension agents have been as guilty of fostering such "banking" approaches to the educational process as teachers in schools.

The problem I have with many of these liberation-oriented programs is their almost complete reliance on the individual to take action either on his own or with his consciousness-raising colleagues. The assumption appears to be that once a person is aware of his reality, he will develop constructive channels to change that reality in his favor. I would argue that he is as likely to become frustrated as he is to take action. He may be prepared psychologically for an impending revolution, but in the meantime he has not been given any tools with which he can change his environment and he has not been informed of alternative channels to which he can direct his energies. There appears to be a trend in Latin America to incorporate more socioeconomic goals alongside consciousness raising to overcome some of these criticisms. The creation of self-directed social organizations like cooperatives and worker-managed industries, for example, tends to be included in the liberationists' current efforts. The apparent goal is to achieve a socialist-type state through the coupling of local community-based economic production and consumption relationships. To me, however, such efforts are rather difficult to achieve given the capitalistic orientation of nearly all of the Latin American economies. The dilemma with the liberationist approach, therefore, is to keep the movement separate from existing international political and economic practices while enhancing participatory opportunities which improve the marginal population's quality of life. Being fueled by an anticapitalist and anticonsumption bias forces such efforts outside of the mainstream of Latin American sociopolitical climates. This does not mean that there is not a great deal of empathy expressed for dependency-liberation explanations and solutions. Instead, it suggests that using such approaches at the micro level to alter the entire fabric of society is likely to have little impact until concomitant changes take place at the national, if not the international, level.

This leads me to the developmentalists and their more directed social change options. Although these individuals may not find fault with the consciousness-raising programs of the liberationists, the developmentalists are likely to point to the need for more attention to improving the quality of life of the participants in terms of health, income, and decision making within a capitalistic framework. Whereas dialogue and reality awareness may form part of the process leading to such goals, the development advocates would likely envision the constraints as being much more complex than those expressed by many liberationists. The

developmentalists see these constraints manifested in terms of the marginal dweller's lack of opportunity within the wider social structure, his lack of technology, and his lack of information and motivation. It is this assumption of scarcity or lack of material and nonmaterial objects and characteristics in the marginal dweller's environment which leads the developmentalists to intervene with technology, capital, organization, education, and so on.

Although these interventions designed to overcome marginality in a population's life style will become clearer in later chapters, I should like to briefly touch on them now in order to demonstrate how the three orientations of development mentioned as social structure, technology, and information and motivation can be used to contrast the development and liberation advocates.

Let me turn first to the social structural bias. Clearly, rural peasants and the urban poor are dependent upon the relations they have with many others as they attempt to produce a product or secure a wage-earning position. Both the deprivation and dependency theorists generally agree that such individuals are conditioned not only by the decisions of local, national, and international elites but by the rules and norms associated with metropolitan economic and political institutions. In the rural area, for example, the social structural bias in development programs may be manifested in projects which emphasize the elimination of intermediaries who run the mill, own the trucks, and provide the credit. These intermediaries drain the peasant of his profit and keep him in his economically dependent state. This social structural approach would also foster organizational alternatives like cooperatives and community enterprises. The assumption underlying such processes is that potency exists in both numbers and volume and that the peasants must unite in order to increase their capacity to carry out business transactions and increase their power and profit. One of the major sociostructural differences between the liberationists and the developmentalists appears to rest with the autonomy due the community in rectifying these dependency conditions. For the development advocates it means more effective participation in the national and international capitalist marketplace whereas for the liberationists it means the establishment of a self-sufficient production and consumption system with independence from capitalist influences.

The second development project bias as I see it rests with technology. Here I would include not only the more obvious raw materials for producing a product and the skills and tools for accomplishing the process but also the credit which enables an individual to initiate and expand his activity. The typical agricultural assistance project, for

example, is designed to assist the rural farmer with the supplies, equipment, and skills in terms of technology; and the local development bank or rotating credit fund is designed to finance his risk taking. An example of the differences between the liberation and development advocates here can be seen in the former's concentration on labor-intensive practices as opposed to the latter's emphasis on capital-intensive technology.

The third development bias rests with motivation and information. In terms of motivation many development project planners begin by assuming that peasants are unmotivated, fatalistic, and traditional and that their attitudes toward work and life must be changed in order that they will accept innovation and opt for the most beneficial alternative in terms of their own and the nation's economy. Conversely, the developmentalists may see the basic problem as one of ignorance for which a literacy or adult education program is required. The liberationists on the other hand reject such banking approaches to education and are more inclined to adopt consciousness-raising techniques based upon a greater respect for the individual and his existing knowledge and attitudes.

As will be argued in later chapters, the history of micro social change processes in Latin America can be seen to revolve around programs which foster at least one of these channels of intervention. The majority of such projects, because of their development-oriented attempts at incorporating the marginal dweller into the wider national economic and political institutions, provide the basis for much of the dissatisfaction expressed by liberationists. Rather than providing the experiences, primarily through dialogue and reflection, which will enable peasants and the urban poor to diagnose their reality and to act on it in accord with their own self-initiated resolutions, the developmentalists shape the behavior of participants toward what the developmentalists believe are goals which are in the marginal dweller's as well as in the nation's best interest. Clearly, the developmentalists have the upper hand in terms of numbers of programs and in terms of financial and political legitimacy. Many, however, are coming to find themselves in a dilemma given the lack of success associated with their efforts in the past and the critical stance taken by the liberationists. Most have not succumbed to the liberationist pressures but many have begun to use the jargon of the dependency theorists in explaining their own programs. These developmentalists express the desire of avoiding paternalism in their activities with participants and search for economic compromises with their liberationist critics.

I question whether developmentalists and liberationists will ever make very good partners in the social change process. Substantively, their ideological roots derive from the polar explanations of underdevelopment expressed earlier as dependency and deprivation. Historically, the liberationists developed their orientations as a rejection of the social change processes and goals of developmentalists which they saw being manipulated from the top of the social structure both inside and outside of Latin America. Thus I sense that it would be difficult for liberationists to learn any more from developmentalists since they themselves have weighed the alternatives and chosen a course which is generally, if not totally, antithetical to a development approach. As already suggested, however, the developmentalists may have considerable to learn from the liberationists. The liberationists have, for example, reminded if not taught developmentalists to attend to the autonomy and popular participation of a target population, to heed the importance of the social, economic, and political structures, and to question the capitalistic orientation of many programs which inevitably increase an individual's dependency rather than liberate him from such constraints. In addition, the liberationists have created several approaches to group process which, in terms of technique, may be applicable to some development-oriented programs. Thus, the more unidimensional affective and structural thrust of the liberationists will likely continue to influence at least some developmentalists in their more eclectic attempts at reaching such quantitative outcomes as production and income. This is not to imply, however, that the goal of the liberationists is to supplement the process and goals of the developmentalists; clearly, they are intent on providing an alternative based upon a distinct ideological point of view.

Although the deprivation-development and dependency-liberation explanations and approaches to social change programs are the guiding frameworks for understanding the motivations for current change efforts in Latin America, my interest is in the strategies used for fostering social change. Strategy here refers to the assumptions, plans, and methods of mobilizing resources that are used in achieving stated goals and objectives. Within the deprivation-development and dependency-liberation arguments we are able to secure some of the ideological bases upon which programs are based. At the same time, however, they do not go far in detailing the assumptions upon which they develop their social change strategies. For that information we must turn to social change theory and assess its relationship to education in general. Such a discussion in the next chapter provides us with the integrating

mechanisms for assessing the out-of-school programmatic efforts past and present in Latin America described in chapters 3 through 6.

Summary

This chapter begins by pointing to both the diversity of Latin America as a biophysical and cultural region and the common social policy dilemmas which confront the majority of the countries. Thus, in terms of population growth, the expansion of formal schooling, the delivery of health services, employment generation, and the more equitable distribution of power through income and decision making, it is suggested that Latin America as a world area is faced with many similar social problems on which attention must continually be placed. The existence of relatively underdeveloped regions in Latin America is then briefly explained through two polar positions referred to as dependency and deprivation. Although neither theoretical position is judged as entirely tenable in explaining the social problems in Latin America, it is argued that both provide an ideological base line from which many social change programs derive their basic strategies. Given the marginality of much of the population in Latin America from the standpoint of participation in the national institutions and their receipt of a share in the national resources, discussion then turns to the need for more concerted social change efforts at the community level. Characteristics of such popular participation programs are provided and the role of educational processes in such programs is examined. The chapter ends with a discussion of the trends in social change and nonformal education programs from the standpoint of liberation and development derived from the earlier discussion of the dependency and deprivation theories of underdevelopment. It is suggested that these ideological bases provide insight into the motivation underlying such programs but do not articulate the assumptions underlying the change strategies which are adopted.

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2.

Theoretical Perspectives on Education and Social Change

Whether social change programs are directed toward liberation or development goals, the process is usually intended to alter aspects of an individual's behavior as well as some of the rules and structures of the social system within which he or she functions. The assumption is that social change activities can be planned and implemented in order to achieve such purposes. Because these activities may include the design of experiences to enhance knowledge, skills, or values and because they are intended to alter social structures and norms, however, the strategies employed are inevitably guided by certain theoretical assumptions about man, society, and the change process. This chapter concerns the theoretical bases underlying some of these assumptions and is characterized by comprehensive conceptions of change and a search for encompassing generalizations applicable to all societies. Whereas the discussion should offer insight into the general processes of social change, it says little about directing or implementing change. This latter topic is addressed in chapter 7, following the discussion of past and present nonformal education programs in Latin America.

The major issue in this chapter is the presentation of theoretical tracts which will enable a subsequent analysis and assessment of nonformal education programs and their potential for playing an innovative role in social change efforts. The discussion centers on two approaches inherent in change programs: the first includes psychodynamic and behavioral analysis—or those strategies designed to change

This chapter is based in part on Thomas J. La Belle and Robert E. Verhine, "Education, Social Change, and Social Stratification," in Thomas J. La Belle, ed., *Educational Alternatives in Latin America*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, 1975. Pp. 3-74.

man—and the second includes systems analysis—or those strategies designed to change the sociocultural system. Throughout the chapter an attempt is made to relate these theoretical propositions to planned or directed change and to the implementation of educational programs. A summary of some of the major implications and principles that the discussion holds for the use of education in social change efforts is presented at the conclusion of the chapter.

There is no single theory of sociocultural change. Rather, within the various social science disciplines there are numerous branches, each with its own assumptions and propositions regarding change. There appear, however, within this body of literature two principal foci—the sociocultural system and the human individual—on which attention is often centered. Regarding the former, for example, we are consistently told that some societies and/or cultures accept change more readily than others do whereas in the latter we hear of the necessity to match innovations with the needs, perceptions, and behaviors of the individual. Thus it is proposed that one way to gain some insight into the planned social change process is to focus on theories which are either holistic in approach, dealing with the society or culture as a unit, or man oriented, emphasizing either the individual's internal state or his behavior. A review of the theoretical literature demonstrates an appropriate division along these lines. A large quantity of holistic literature, for example, extending back to classical tracts by Marx, Weber, and Ogburn, is distinguishable because it focuses on some system, either social or cultural, treated as an entity in and of itself and transcendent to man. Likewise there exists a rapidly growing body of theoretical literature which is man oriented, based principally on the works of Freud, Jung, and Skinner, which uses human beings as the primary unit of analysis and posits that psychological variables are at the root of all sociocultural activity. Although such a division of the literature is tenable for heuristic purposes, it must be mentioned that there are many points where the two categories of the literature overlap. Many holistic scholars, for example, recognize the importance of the personality structure or of human dissatisfaction and need in the change process. Correspondingly, the man-oriented approach continues to afford an important role to the sociocultural environment. The dichotomy, therefore, is meant to point to major emphases or foci and to provide a mechanism to make understandable a large and diffuse body of literature.

Before turning to the first of these theoretical frameworks, the man-oriented approach, it is appropriate to indicate briefly what I mean by social change. By social, I am referring to man's behavior as it

interacts with both the physical and the human environment. As Moore (1963*b*) points out, man's daily actions form patterns of activities which in turn constitute a system of behavior in relation to a particular environmental context. This interaction between man and the material and nonmaterial world is governed by rules or norms which establish the general parameters for man's normal round of daily activities. By change I mean, first, a long-term alteration in man's behavior and in the relationship between that behavior and a particular human and physical environment and, second, an alteration in the rules and structures enabling this new or different behavior and relationship to be established. The nature and magnitude of the change will inevitably depend on the goal of planned interventions both internal and external to a particular setting. The purpose of this chapter is to assess how the theoretical literature can assist us in analyzing these components of social change.

The Man-oriented Approach

Education programs, whether they involve formal, nonformal, or informal modes, are almost always based on psychological variables and they generally posit that human activity is at the root of sociocultural change. Despite this common orientation, however, one finds in reviewing the theoretical literature a considerable variety and ambiguity among the components and relationships discussed. For my purposes, it is appropriate to present the man-oriented literature in terms of two distinct models. The first can be labeled the psychodynamic approach. It explains human activity—and hence change—in terms of man's internal psychological state and draws heavily from the works of psychoanalysts and personality theorists (Hall and Lindzey 1957; Munroe 1955; Wolman 1960). The second approach is referred to here as the behavioral model. It gives little emphasis to man's internal state, choosing instead to view human activity as the products of rewards and punishments applied after a particular activity has been formed (Bandura 1969; Homans 1961; Kunkel 1970; Staats and Staats 1963). This model is based on various learning theories that have emerged from experimental psychology during the last half century.

THE PSYCHODYNAMIC MODEL

The major thrust of the psychodynamic approach is revealed in the following passage from economist J. J. Spengler: "The content of men's minds is looked upon as the potentially dynamic elements, as the source whence issue change and novelty, in a world that is otherwise essentially

passive. Accordingly, transformation of an underdeveloped society into a developed one entails transformation of the contents of the minds of the elite who direct and of the men who man such underdeveloped society" (1961:4-5). Stated very generally, the psychodynamic model postulates that sociocultural change results from human action which, in turn, is determined by man's internal state. Usually called personality, the internal state is the product of a combination of original elements (drives, needs, instincts, libido, and so forth) together with internalized societal factors (norms, values, and so forth). This internal state is largely created early in life and, for the most part, remains unconscious. Behavior, according to this approach, should be viewed as a consequence of the internal state's tendency to return to equilibrium after being upset by some stimulus impinging upon the person. This model is further complicated by the assumption that internalized norms and values may conflict with certain drives and instincts, thereby producing repression, sublimation, aggression, frustration, and so on. These latter concepts are commonly used to explain incongruities between observed behavior and the actions predicted by psychodynamic theory (Kunkel 1970:18-23; Hall and Lindzey 1957; Munroe 1955; Wolman 1960).

Some of the implications of this approach for sociocultural change should already be apparent. Obviously, sociocultural change requires, at some point, a change in man's internal state. Since personality is formed early in life, however, and is difficult to alter later on, social and cultural change cannot be expected to occur rapidly. Major changes, in fact, may require several generations. By implication, then, short-term applied change efforts, especially those directed at adults, are not likely to succeed. Note that, according to this model the contemporary environmental context plays a relatively passive role in affecting change. It can, however, trigger operations and processes within the internal state. Nevertheless, the explanation, prediction, promotion, and alteration of human action require primarily an understanding of man's internal state. The acquisition of this understanding can, of course, be facilitated by a knowledge of the individual's environment during childhood. Ultimately, however, it may require the use of psychoanalysis since so much of the internal state is unconscious.

The reader should recognize that there are, in fact, a large number of psychodynamic models. The model outlined here represents but a generalized overview of the approach. As a result, its dictates and propositions are neither as specific nor all-encompassing as those to be found in the behavioral approach or in systems analysis. Freud and Jung are two of the earliest pioneers of psychodynamic models. Other notable scholars who early on recognized a relationship between personality and

sociocultural phenomena include Sapir (1934), Kardiner (1939), Mead (1947), and Fromm (1956). Riesman's notion of "inner directed man" (1953) may be placed in this category as may Lewis's well-known concept, "the culture of poverty" (1966).[1] Barnett, in his study of innovation, adheres closely to a psychodynamic viewpoint, speaking of fusions that take place on a mental plane, the synthesis of existing elements, and the mental configurations of cultural objects (1953). In recent years there have been a number of efforts to apply this model to the processes of modernization and development. Three of these works—Lerner (1958), McClelland (1961), and Hagen (1962)—are noteworthy enough to warrant a brief review here.

As Lerner sees it, the first element in the social dynamic of development is an infusion of the modern or "mobile" personality. By this he means a person who has a high capacity to identify with new aspects of his environment and who can take in stride new demands upon himself that emanate from his experience. The mobile personality is high in empathy—he can see himself in the other fellow's situation. Lerner recognizes that such personalities are the product of socialization and hence take time to form and spread. He asserts, however, that the speed of this process is increased with the advent of mass communication, "the mobility multiplier." The media, he reasons, have "disciplined Western man in those empathetic skills which spell modernity. They also portrayed for him the roles he might confront and elucidated the opinions he might need" (1958:54). Hence Lerner sees the overall modernization process like this: a nucleus of mobile, change-accepting personalities; then a growing mass media system to spread the ideas and attitudes of social mobility and change; and then the interaction of urbanization, literacy, industrialization, and media participation to bring modern society into being.

McClelland's work focuses on man's internal motives. It suggests that these are established primarily in childhood, especially through family and school socialization, and are manifested in behavior at a much later date. McClelland hypothesizes that one motive in particular, the need for achievement, is a major factor in economic development. He reasons that people with high need-achievement make energetic entrepreneurs "who, in turn, produce more rapid economic growth" (1961:205). Like other motives, need-achievement is created through childhood socialization. Such environmental factors as religion, social class, and philosophy of life influence child-rearing practices thereby deciding the magnitude of the internalized achievement motive which ultimately

[1]See the discussion of the "culture of poverty" in Valentine (1968).

determines whether economic behavior will be conducive to growth. McClelland, incidentally, is careful to support his hypothesis with data drawn from a large number of nations and historical periods.

Hagen's work represents perhaps the most extensive, complex, and controversial application of the psychodynamic approach. It assumes that "the interrelationships between personality and social structure are such as to make it clear that social change will not occur without change in personalities" (1962:86). Hagen asserts that traditional societies are static because they produce authoritarian, noninnovative personalities. This personality type tends to rely on tradition and authority as a means of reducing anxiety caused by internalizing early in life the belief that the world is capricious and uncontrollable. The author claims that the process of social transformation begins when some social group perceives that it has lost the status respect of other groups whose esteem it values. This withdrawal of status respect leads to retreatism which in turn creates circumstances in the homelife and social environment that are conducive to the development of creative, innovating personalities. Creativity, reasons Hagen, is the basis of modernity and consists of being open to novel experiences, having some detachment from oneself and society, believing that the world is orderly and understandable, and having the ability to let one's unconscious processes work on a problem. Hence, according to Hagen's model, the primary mechanism by which the stages of modernization follow upon one another is determined by changes in the patterns of child treatment caused when alterations in social organization change the values and needs of certain adults. The historical sequence of development is authoritarianism—withdrawal of status respect—retreatism—creativity. Hagen's work, incidentally, has been widely criticized. Many of his concepts are vague and assumptions dubious. Hagen himself admits that "analysis of this sequence of personality change must be speculative, or, to use the term more loosely, intuitive" (p. 201). The author fails to scientifically test his hypotheses. Although he does offer some supporting case histories, he has been accused of selecting and adjusting the evidence to fit his conclusions (Moore 1963*a*; McClelland and Winter 1969; Kunkel 1970).

I turn now to the question of whether the psychodynamic model tells us anything about the relationship between education and sociocultural change. It should be obvious that it does, at least if education is defined in its broadest sense. After all, if change requires the creation of new internal values, motives, and habits, it clearly involves some form of education. Childhood socialization emphasized by psychodynamicists can be restated as informal or childhood education. However, our concern here is with the role of structured educational programs. On

this issue, the psychodynamic literature is much less clear. Hagen, for example, does not mention the words *education* or *school* in his elaborate study. McClelland, on the other hand, looks closely at formal education in *The Achieving Society*. He notes that empirical evidence fails to confirm that Western-oriented education accounts for the high need-achievement in modern societies. Hypothesizing that educational influences may occur too late in life to effect need-achievement, he focuses specifically on nursery schools. He finds that even these programs have little impact. He attributes this to their partial character, noting that nursery school is very minor as contrasted with the major shaping influences of the family. We should point out that in a subsequent work (McClelland and Winter 1969), McClelland takes a slightly different track, noting that formal education probably does contribute to need-achievement when operating in an achievement-oriented atmosphere. Here he also appears to abandon his earlier supposition that motives are formed only in early life. He now argues that specially designed "achievement motivation programs" for adult businessmen "are likely to have significant economic effects" (p. 28).

Daniel Lerner's work does not look specifically at education per se. However, by emphasizing the importance of literacy and communication to modern personality formation, it offers valuable insights into the role of educational programs in sociocultural change. After all, the transmission of literacy skills and the communication of information are major objectives of many educational undertakings. One may surmise that if literacy and communication can influence internal elements in a manner conducive to sociocultural change, educational programs can also be expected to have such an effect. Lerner considers literacy to be "the sociological pivot in the activation of psychic mobility, the publicly shared skill which binds modern man's varied daily round into a consistent participant lifestyle" (1958:64). He argues that the very act of achieving distance and control over a formal language "gives people access to the world of vicarious experience and trains them to use the complicated mechanism of empathy which is needed to cope with this world" (p. 64). He supports his assertions with data from 248 Syrian respondents which show a strong relationship between literacy and his measure of empathy. In another study (1964) he reports that literate villagers in Turkey are more empathetic and innovative than their illiterate counterparts. Other studies producing similar findings include Doob (1961) and Rogers and Herzog (1966). It should be understood, however, that these studies establish correlation, not causation.

Lerner suggests that in addition to directly influencing man's internal state, literacy also acts indirectly by fostering the growth of mass communication. He argues that literacy supplies media consumers, who

activate media production, which in turn spreads literacy. As we have seen, Lerner considers the mass media to be the great multiplier of new ideas, attitudes, and knowledge. He reasons that it is instrumental in diffusing new ideas and information and modifying images in such a way as to stimulate desires to act in new ways. Hence Lerner concludes that "communication is, in this sense, the main instrument of socialization, as socialization is, in turn, the main agency of social change" (1964:151-52). Lerner is not the only scholar to recognize a relationship between communication, psychological elements, and social change. Y. V. L. Rao, in his study of two Indian villages, points out that the ability to think in abstract terms and general confidence in the future are attributes of great importance to economic growth and contribute to and are furthered by an increase in the flow of information (1963). Wilbur Schramm concludes that the mass media can raise awareness levels, help form tastes, affect attitudes lightly held, and make slight changes in more strongly held attitudes (1964).

Other studies reveal that direct, or face-to-face, communication is even more effective than the mass media in altering individual values, attitudes, and beliefs (Katz and Lazersfeld 1955; Rogers and Beal 1958; Coleman, Katz, and Menzel 1957; Rahudkar 1958). The implication of these face-to-face communication findings, when viewed in relation to the mass media, suggests that the media not be used without sufficient knowledge of the local culture. When the mass media cover large areas and operate from a distance, they cannot adjust their message to the needs and perceptions of the individual members of their audience. Consequently Schramm suggests that "an efficient use of the mass media for economic and social development implies that they should be as local as possible. Their programs should originate no further than necessary from their audiences, the programs should be prepared by persons who understand the cultures to which they are speaking, and means should be available for the audiences to report back to the media" (1964:23).

The discussion of the psychodynamic model and education has focused on effecting an alteration in the internal state. I have suggested that educational programs may influence student personalities and, by doing so, contribute to sociocultural change. The treatment of the student as a dependent variable should not, however, leave the impression that he is a passive participant in the educational process. On the contrary, because each individual has an internal state, he acts upon the learning environment just as it acts upon him. The student perceives and utilizes what he is taught in accordance with his own needs, values, and cognitive styles. The uniqueness of each person's personality

structure helps explain why educational outcomes may strongly differ from one student to the next.

This viewpoint, of course, is widely accepted in educational psychology. It receives, however, perhaps its strongest empirical support from communications research. Studies on communication have traditionally been based on a model of one-way influence. In other words, they have assumed that initiative rests exclusively with the communicator and that effects lie exclusively with the audience. This assumption is clearly embodied in Lasswell's classic description of the communication process: "Who says what, through what channels of communication, to whom, with what . . . results" (Smith, Lasswell, and Casey 1946:212). In recent years, however, a number of empirical studies have shown the inadequacy of this approach. They have revealed, for instance, that messages may affect members of the same audience very differently. Whereas some individuals are easily persuaded by a message, others in identical circumstances are not (Lazersfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet 1944; Coleman, Menzel, and Katz 1959; Hovland 1959; Klapper 1960). Some studies have also established that man subjects messages to selective exposure (he tends to expose himself only to communication that agrees with his existing opinions), to selective perception (he tends to interpret new ideas in terms of past experiences and existing opinions), and to selective retention (he tends to remember only ideas that agree with his existing opinions) (Rogers and Shoemaker 1971). Other research has found that in addition to acting on messages, man also acts directly on the communicator. It is known, for example, that communicators tend to adjust their messages to fit what the audience indicates it wants to hear (Zimmerman and Bauer 1956; Bauer, de Sola Pool, and Dexter 1963). To explain these various findings, observers have tended to turn to the internal state. Some have attempted to account for differences in persuadability through such psychological factors as self-confidence (Cox 1962), ego defense (Cohen 1959), and need for social approval (Janis 1954). Others have explained man's tendency to be selective toward information in terms of a homeostatic model which purports that one acts to maintain or restore equilibrium in his system of beliefs (Maccoby and Maccoby 1961). And those who have noted that the audience influences the communicator have made note of the communicator's own psychological needs.

Hence, there is overwhelming evidence indicating that the communication process should be conceptualized as transactional rather than one-way. As Bauer notes (1964), it involves an exchange of values; each side gives in order to get. This same conclusion is applicable to the educational process which is really little more than an institutionalized

version of the communication process. Unfortunately, case studies of educational programs, particularly those of formal schooling in Latin America, reveal that this two-way notion is often not understood by educational policy-makers and personnel (see, for example, Horst and McLelland 1968; Nash 1965; Reichel-Dolmatoff and Reichel-Dolmatoff 1961). These descriptions show that the classroom process centers on the transmission of information, the verity or value of which is not questioned, in a one-directional line from teacher to student. This approach, whose roots can be traced to medieval traditions, has been labeled by Paulo Freire (1971) as the "banking" concept of education because it assumes that students' minds are empty vessels into which knowledge may and should be deposited. A number of scholarly works, most of which support a dependency-liberation framework, have detailed the negative repercussions of this approach (Illich 1970; Reimer 1971; Freire 1971). It may, for instance, cause the educational experience to be meaningless for the student. A program which considers the pupil an empty vessel and fails to take note of his peculiar needs, values, and experiences is likely to be incongruous with his past and unrelated to his future. This may contribute to student and parental apathy or lead to student failure. For even if the participant wants to succeed in an educational program he will find it difficult to do so if the internal attributes promoted and selected for by the program are different from his own. This failure, of course, can seriously impair an individual's self-image. Even if he does not fail, however, his self-confidence and personal esteem may be eroded. By participating in an educational program in which the banking doctrine prevails, the student consistently encounters a paternalistic environment in which he is treated as inferior object rather than dignified subject. For the Latin American poor, especially those in rural areas, these negative repercussions are likely to be particularly acute. The probability that the individual will find the educational program unrelated to his needs and experiences is heightened by the fact that such programs are generally controlled by an urban elite. Also, the dominant-submissive teacher-student relationship serves to reinforce the sense of subordination and worthlessness that the student has already suffered as a member of the lower class. In this sense, then, the banking concept both reflects and supports existing class hierarchies.

Although a number of observers have made the points presented in the preceding paragraphs, Paulo Freire is perhaps the most effective at bridging the gap between theory and practice (1971; also see Sanders 1968). As mentioned in the previous chapter, Freire argues that the

oppressed can be liberated through *conscientização*. By this concept, he means "a change of mentality involving an accurate, realistic awareness of one's locus in nature and society; the capacity to analyze critically its causes and consequences, comparing it with other situations and possibilities; and action of a logical sort aimed at transformation" (Sanders 1968:8). In other words, Freire wants to reform the illiterate peasant's basic perspective on reality, which is characteristically pessimistic and fatalistic, by enabling him to gain awareness of his capacity to shape his environment and to acquire the means to do so. For this end, Freire has developed a "psycho-social" method of literacy training which is designed to involve pupils in an active dialogue about meaningful situations in their lives. In contrast to the banking method, Freire's method involves both teacher and students joining sympathetically in a common purpose, seeking truth about relevant problems while respecting each other's opinions. Hence, while the pupil learns to read and write, he also gains the self-confidence and critical mental capacity necessary to understand and change the world around him.

In concluding the analysis of the relationship between education and the psychodynamic approach, let me briefly summarize the major points. I have attempted to show that the psychodynamic model helps place into theoretical perspective two important notions concerning education: (1) formal and nonformal education can contribute to sociocutural change by influencing the internal state of participants, and (2) education is a two-way communication process. I have indicated that the validity of the first proposition is dependent on the implementation of the second. Unless educational programs actively involve their clients in the learning process and build upon their existing internal attributes, they will do little more than perpetuate the status quo.

We turn now to the relationship between the psychodynamic model and applied change. The reader will recall that basic psychodynamic theory postulates that significant change requires personality change and that personality is formed early in life and is very difficult to alter later on. Hence, the model in its original form takes a dim view toward efforts to generate change quickly. Of course, so conceived this approach offers no explanation for the many recorded instances in which significant changes have occurred rapidly. A classic example of such a case is the Cornell-Peru Project at Vicos which, in a five-year period, produced relatively major changes in living standards and life-styles among Indians in a highland community (Holmberg 1960; Vásquez 1965; Whyte and Holmberg 1956). Rather than reject the psychodynamic model outright, however, many applied change strategists have adopted

an abbreviated version. They accept the notion that change efforts must concentrate on man's internal state but reject the idea that personality is immutable after childhood.

In addition to providing the basis for almost all education programs, the abbreviated approach forms the backbone of a large body of literature classified under the rubric of "community development." Though community development connotes various ideas including self-help, cooperation, self-reliance, and democracy, it is above all "a group method for expediting personality growth" (Biddle and Biddle 1966:78). Unlike many change strategies, it is traditionally concerned less with material goals than with changing the content of men's minds. A review of the community development literature reveals that this emphasis is commonly justified in two ways. First, it is argued that a sense of personal identity and self-esteem is an end in itself. Hence, the ultimate goal of development must be "a new image of self and world and a new sense of purpose and accomplishment" (Goodenough 1963:219). Second, community development advocates contend that changes will not last unless made an integral part of the individual's mental state. Development must come from within if it is to become an ongoing, self-sustaining process which is independent of outside help. The innovators at Vicos, for example, considered their principal task to be "building a body of knowledge, skills, and attitudes which would in turn foster . . . a solid and self-reliant growth" (Holmberg, 1960:89).

Despite the psychodynamic undercurrents in the community development literature, in actual practice change agents often attempt to alter people's behavior by changing their immediate environment rather than by changing their internal states. In other words, they employ what I will refer to later as a more behavioral approach. One obvious exception is Paulo Freire. As we have seen, he proposes that individuals can gain the awareness and self-confidence necessary for them to improve their circumstances by participating in carefully directed dialogues about problems meaningful to them. Another who advocates the use of true psychodynamic techniques for applied change is Ward Goodenough. This anthropologist reasons that people will have a desire for change only when they are sufficiently dissatisfied with the images they have of themselves, and then "their problem becomes one of altering their customary behavior, their circumstances, or both, so as to achieve an identity with which they can again be comfortable" (1963:226). Hence, Goodenough recommends that change agents begin their efforts by leading their clients to reappraise their self-image and reevaluate their self-esteem. For this, he suggests the use of psychotherapeutic techniques which force clients to confront themselves. "Efforts to 'educate' people

to feel a need for change where none has been felt before must follow the confrontation approach of psychological counseling" (p. 223). The writer stresses that this approach is useful only if the change agent operates within the perceptual framework of the client. The reader will note that Goodenough's notions are very similar to those of Freire. Whereas Freire, however, clearly differentiates between good and bad self-images, Goodenough does not. Neither scholar, incidentally, has had his ideas subjected to rigorous empirical examination. It should be pointed out, however, that studies of clinical psychoanalytical procedures have found their success rates to be far from impressive (Knight 1941; Brody 1962; Bergin 1966). These findings have led John Kunkel to wonder, "Since psychiatrists with their internal-state oriented theories and methodologies evidently fail in a large percentage of their cases in spite of considerable training and prolonged effort, what can be expected of change agents with a similar orientation but who deal with communities rather than individuals" (1970:321).

Although many applied change strategists do not accept the abbreviated psychodynamic approach, a review of the planned change literature in chapter 7 suggests a near universal consensus that change agents must understand and build upon the internal states of their clients. Numerous case studies confirm that change efforts consistently fail when the agent acts in accordance with only his own perceptions and neglects those of the people he purports to serve (Spicer 1952; Foster 1962; Erasmus 1961; Niehoff 1966). This finding, of course, should not be surprising in light of our earlier conclusions regarding the inadequacy of one-directional communication and education. After all, the change agent's role is one of both communicator and educator. We will have occasion to return to the relationship between applied change and the client's internal state in our presentation of the behavioral approach.

THE BEHAVIORAL MODEL

Behavioral theory has the attraction of consisting of precise, testable propositions which have been established through empirical research conducted in differing circumstances and employing a variety of procedures (Bandura 1969; Staats and Staats 1963; Krasner and Ullman 1965). The propositions have their origins in learning principles first derived under laboratory conditions by experimental psychologists. They have received some of their most extensive use in the analysis of sociocultural phenomena from George Homans (1961, 1964, 1967), John Kunkel (1965, 1970), and John Kunkel and Richard Nagasawa (1973).

The behavioral model in its entirety is quite complex. I am able to introduce here only its most important features. It can, perhaps, be best

understood in terms of three basic concepts: contingent stimuli, discriminative stimuli, and state variables. Contingent stimuli are the consequences of a behavior pattern. They may be either reinforcing or aversive. When an activity is followed by reinforcing contingencies, its probability of repetition in similar circumstances increases. Conversely, when an action is followed by aversive stimuli, its probability of repetition in similar circumstances declines. Contingencies may be either primary (i.e., physiological) or secondary (i.e., learned). Whereas the former type tends to be similar in all societies, the latter may vary from one sociocultural context to the next. Of the two, secondary stimuli probably have the greater influence on daily human activity. When an action is consistently reinforced in a particular context, that context eventually becomes a discriminative stimulus. In other words, the context itself serves to stimulate the action. Behavior, then, can be simplistically conceived of as a response preceded by discriminative stimuli and followed by contingent stimuli. Since both forms of stimuli are basically actions of people (verbal utterances, facial expressions, body movements, and so on), society can be conceptualized as linked behavior chains in which one person's behavior may reinforce another's activity and be a third person's discriminative stimuli for further action. The manner and extent to which a given stimulus affects behavior is determined by state variables. These refer to the individual's internal characteristics of deprivation and satiation. Stimuli which reduce deprivation are reinforcing (rewards) and those which augment it are aversive (punishment). The most powerful rewards, obviously, are those which decrease the greatest or most important deprivations. Since previously operating reinforcers cease to be effective under conditions of satiation, the use of rewards and punishments to establish behavior requires the maintenance of some degree of deprivation. Within each individual, deprivations may exist in a variety of forms and strengths. Like contingencies, some are primary (largely physiological) and others are secondary (largely learned) and therefore influenced by the sociocultural milieu.

Contingencies, discriminative stimuli, and state variables, then, determine whether or not behavior patterns change. As long as these three factors remain constant, the probability of behavior replication remains high. However, if any one of the three should change, behavior patterns are likely to change. Contingent and discriminative stimuli are, for the most part, elements within the sociocultural environment. State variables, of course, exist within the individual. Hence, it should be clear that the behavioral model implies that behavior change, and consequently sociocultural change, can occur in potentially two ways: (1) through alterations in man's environment; or (2) through alterations

in his internal state. The latter is noteworthy, of course, because it is reminiscent of the psychodynamic approach. The former, however, warrants our attention first because it has received the major emphasis from professed behavioralists. Since the rewards and punishments shaping and maintaining one's behavior are embedded in a person's social context, it stands to reason that changes in that context may cause changes in behavior. As Kunkel notes, "By judiciously altering those aspects of the social environment which constitute rewarding or punishing consequences for specific activities, it is possible to alter these behavior patterns and to initiate and accelerate social change" (1970:24). This hypothesis implies that the change agent should assume the role of the operant conditioner in the laboratory. He can generate change by extinguishing old behavior patterns and shaping new ones. In this effort, he can rely on a series of specific procedures which have been detailed through empirical research. Kunkel illustrates that, in fact, utilization of this approach accounts for the rapid changes made at Vicos.

The reasoning in the above paragraph has merit. It is, however, much too simplistic. Kunkel himself recognizes this point: "While there is abundant clinical and experimental evidence that behaviors change from alterations in the individual's social environment, the contingencies in these cases are relatively simple and straightforward. Behavior is much more difficult in an open, free, and complex society, where the contingencies are complicated, often difficult to predict, and where the relationships between behavior and consequences are somewhat nebulous and subject to the intervention of intermediary agents (1970:33). The agent's ability to apply the behavioral procedures depends on his knowledge of deprivation characteristics, available reinforcers, and the steps involved in shaping and extinction. Moreover, it requires that he have control over the relevant variables of the social context (i.e., reinforcers, their schedules, and stability of discriminative stimuli). The e points, of course, do not make the model less valid. They suggest, however, that it may be more difficult to apply than often recognized.

As suggested, the model also recognizes that behavior can change by altering aspects of man's internal state. In other words, rather than altering man's environment, one need only alter man's *perception* of his environment. For, in terms of the model, man's actions are based on his feelings of deprivation, his perception of discriminative and contingent stimuli, and his knowledge of behavioral alternatives and their accompanying rewards and punishments. Since each of these elements is subject to learning, they can conceivably be altered through communication and/or education. Hence, the behavioral model is consistent with the many studies of mass communication (Lerner 1958; Schramm

1964; Lerner and Schramm 1967) which suggest that the mass media spur economic progress by raising aspirations, broadening horizons, and changing frames of reference. Note also that the model justifi the proposals by Freire and Goodenough to raise consciousness and alter identity states. The model's implications for the role of education in sociocultural change are summarized in Kunkel's words: "Ideally, formal education is the source of accurate, direct information concerning presently operating (and future) discriminative and contingent stimuli of specific new and old behavior patterns. Furthermore, education contributes to the creation of new secondary state variables, especially material deprivations. In this way new types of 'rewards' and 'punishment' are defined and new nonlocal reference groups for the dispensing of them are established" (1970:245–46).

One theorist who emphasizes the internal state within a behavioral context is Charles Erasmus (1961). He bases his analysis of cultural causality and development on man's efforts to satisfy felt needs (reduce deprivations) through the use of his internal motivational and cognitive facilities. He reasons that man bases his behavior on predictions of probable consequences of his actions (frequency interpretations) which in turn are based on his level of knowledge. Hence, as society becomes more specialized and man's knowledge becomes more technical, he is better able to select behavior which will maximize rewards.

From these considerations, one may wonder how the behavioral model differs from the psychodynamic approach. Indeed, both theories postulate that sociocultural change results from human actions which can be explained and altered through man's internal state. There are, however, important differences. The behavioralist considers the internal state only in terms of specific variables grounded in empirical research. He argues, moreover, that change can occur quickly, especially by way of appropriate alterations in the environmental context. Although he recognizes that change can occur as a result of alterations in the internal state, he probably would not advocate such an approach to change agents because it is difficult to control, the results are unsure, and it tends to be very time consuming.

It is interesting to note, incidentally, that our three prototype psychodynamicists, Lerner, McClelland, and Hagen, in their more recent works, appear to accept portions of the behavioral format. Lerner, for instance, in an article on communication (1963), writes that "modernity is an interactional behavioral system" and contends that economic growth is most likely to occur under those conditions where individual effort is associated with reward. He reasons that establishing this association is fundamentally a communication process. McClelland, as

we have already indicated, clearly uses behavioral techniques in his training programs designed to foster need-achievement (McClelland and Winter, 1969). Based on the results from these programs, McClelland now asserts that change can be generated quickly and he defines need-achievement in behavioral terms. Hagen's acceptance of some aspects of the behavioral approach is implicit in an article published in 1966. Here he attempts to determine the key social, psychological, and economic factors involved in social transformation by carefully examining daily behavior under different conditions of development. This work has led Whyte and Williams to conclude: "The examples from Hagen suggest one essential for progress in interdisciplinary development research: we must get down to cases where behavior can be observed and described" (1968:82).

The preceding discussion has suggested that aspects of the psychodynamic model can be integrated into the behavioral framework. I have indicated, for example, that behavior is interdependent: the actions of one person influence the behavior of another mainly in terms of their roles as discriminative and contingent stimuli. Hence, it is possible to define the interacting elements of a social system as interacting behavioral patterns. This conception is useful because it enables one to use clearly defined propositions to analyze the components of social structure. For example, the notion of positive and negative feedback can be viewed as reinforcing and aversive stimuli. Positive feedback amplifies deviation because it is rewarding: conversely, negative feedback reduces deviation because it is punishing. Kunkel (1970) uses these notions to apply behavioral principles to the macro processes of modernization and economic development.

The various findings and conclusions from the planned change literature can also be related to behavioral theory. It is generally agreed, for example, that a change agent must know his clients' sociocultural context, build on their felt needs, and respect their system of values. In behavioral terms, the agent must know the local context in order to identify deprivations and existing and potential reinforcers. Building on felt needs can be restated as rewarding perceived deprivations. Respecting local value systems is, again, another way of saying that rewards must be in line with perceived deprivations. In this sense, a value is essentially that which is perceived as reducing deprivation. Another conclusion common in the planned change literature is that innovations are more likely to be accepted if they are perceived as advantageous, compatible, trialable, observable, and understandable. To the behavioralist, an advantageous innovation is simply one that is rewarding. A compatible innovation is one that doesn't upset existing

contingencies in such a way as to aggravate other deprivations. An innovation which is trialable should have a greater chance of being accepted because the perceived potential punishment is smaller. Understandability and observability are important because an innovation is not likely to be perceived as rewarding if it is not understood or known. In addition, the concept of the confirmation decision process is also based on behavioral principles. In Rogers' words, "At the confirmation function the individual seeks reinforcement for the innovation-decision he has made . . ." (Rogers and Shoemaker 1971:123).

It may be useful to apply the behavioral model to an interesting controversy in the planned change literature. The controversy centers on the advocacy of either a project or process approach to applied change. Erasmus is a proponent of the former and Goodenough speaks for the latter. Erasmus states his position in these words: "I am opposed to the notion that construction projects are quixotic and extravagant compared to the inexpensive, self-help projects through which people are supposedly taught to lift themselves up by the bootstraps. . . . When real technical research produces changes that spectacularly meet felt needs, self-help promoters are not needed to introduce or to sell them" (1961:320–21). Goodenough, on the other hand, contends: "Ideally, development aims at stimulating change not only in material well-being but in the feeling the people have about themselves, so that their capacity for self-improvement and further self-development is increased" (1963:219).

On one level, we could explain this controversy in terms of the behavioral versus the psychodynamic approach. Erasmus is clearly a behavioralist. He conceives of projects as rewards and hence he assumes that they will be successful as long as they are relevant to perceived deprivations (felt needs). Goodenough, on the other hand, seems to adopt the psychodynamic notion as he suggests that the only meaningful and lasting change is that which occurs within men's minds. The idea of classifying Goodenough as a psychodynamicist, or anything other than a behavioralist, is supported by the fact that, at one point, he completely rejects behavioral principles. He states: "These techniques [of behavioralism] are aimed primarily at inducing outward conformity with the desires of others. They may be effective at getting people to change the public image they present to others, but they do not necessarily have much effect on their private view of themselves" (1963:218). Despite this disclaimer, however, Goodenough resorts time and again to behavioral concepts in the course of his analysis. For example, in presenting the concepts of *value*, *custom*, and *belief*, he explains each in terms of need gratification. Hence, the project versus process

controversy—at least as defined by Erasmus and Goodenough—may be best conceptualized as a manifestation of the two change strategies inherent within the behavioral model. The project advocates emphasize changing contingent and discriminative stimuli whereas the process advocates focus on changing state variables.

The behavioral model also has a number of implications for the planning of educational programs. We will concern ourselves here with only three of the most important of these implications: (1) educational programs must be reinforcing in terms of the student's background, (2) education must be reinforcing in terms of the student's perceived future, and (3) education must be reinforcing in terms of the student's actual future. Of course, no single program is likely to accomplish all three objectives simultaneously. Students' aspirations may have little relationship with past or future reality. Over time, however, especially as aspirations change through education and maturation, educational programs should approximate all three of these goals.

The importance of an educational program's reinforcing student background experiences has already been touched on briefly in this work; I have given this point further attention in other works (1973, 1975). If the student finds that the schooling experience is alien to his other past and present experiences, especially those involving home and family, he is likely to find it unrewarding. Under these conditions, he may drop out, be pushed out, or finish having perhaps lost a sense of personal identity.

If education is not reinforcing in terms of the student's perceived opportunity structure, he is not likely to be motivated to take full and/or intended advantage of it. This point is illustrated in studies of technical/vocational education in developing rural areas. A study by Williams in Guatemala, for example, found that students were using an educational program outside of the intentions of the sponsors. The author attributes his finding to the fact that the aspirations of the students were not consistent with the intent of the program (1969). In a similar study conducted in Ghana, Foster reports that agricultural education programs are having the unintended effect of channeling the students to the city because students, though specifically trained for rural occupations, aspire for urban economic and social opportunities (1966, 1968).

The phrase "education must be reinforcing in terms of the student's actual future" should probably be restated to read "the student's actual future must reinforce his education." It seems apparent that unless a student has a chance to apply what he learns, it will be forgotten. Behavioral principles establish clearly that learning behavior eventually

becomes extinct when reinforcements are withdrawn. In the rural Latin American context, Manning Nash has observed that although the school instills different values, "adulthood, the claims of mundane life, the competition of the known with the unknown, and the absence of supporting institutions beyond the schools make these values, in most instances, atrophy and eventually disappear" (1965:138).

In concluding this section it should be apparent that whether a primarily psychodynamic or behavioralist approach is adopted as a change theory, the alteration of man's internal state must be viewed as crucial to the social change process. The question, however, is whether either theoretical framework is sufficiently broad to encompass both the alteration of man's behavior and the alteration of the relationship between that behavior and the human and physical environment. From my standpoint the answer is no since the theories do not address the societal rules and structures which enable the manifestation of new behaviors and relationships. Whereas these theories can account for the acquisition of new behaviors, in my assessment they fall short of questioning the rules and structures which are the potential obstacles to creating long-term change. Even if one believes that all change emanates from man and is derived from the internal state, the poor, marginal dweller to whom most social change programs are directed are unlikely sources of such change as they are non-participants in the elite-dominated social system. Thus although the theories discussed here are necessary for the design of change strategies in terms of acquiring new behaviors, we must turn to more holistic theories in attempting to understand the social system where such behaviors will be used.

The Holistic Approach

I include in the holistic category theories both of culture and of society. Some writers contend that the concepts *society* and *culture* can be differentiated in that the former refers to a localized population that cooperates over time for certain ends while the latter pertains to the society's way of life, or the things that its members think, feel, and do (Kneller 1965). The literature, however, is generally unclear as to the exact relationship between these two notions. Parsons (1951), for example, conceives of social and cultural systems as discrete entities. Some social scientists, on the other hand, consider culture as a component of the social system (Kunkel 1970); others indicate that the relationship should in fact be reversed (Honigmann 1959). Kroeber and Kluckhohn address themselves to this issue by stating that *social*

system, *social structure*, and *culture* are all abstractions of about the same level. They write: "To a large degree, as we have indicated, they [the abstractions] all depart from the same order of data, and the distinction rests primarily on the focus of interest and the type of question asked (i.e., frame of reference)" (1952:135).

SYSTEMS THEORY

A review of the theoretical literature suggests one striking commonality among studies of both society and culture: the holistic unit of analysis is invariably conceived of as a system. This conceptualization means that societies and/or cultures are given a series of relations and characteristics which delineate their essential nature and explain how and why they change (Parsons 1951; Cadawallader 1959; Chin 1969; Maruyama 1963; Buckley 1967).

A system may be viewed as a collection of interrelated and interdependent components interacting within some boundary line (conveniently conceptualized as circular) such that there is less interchange across the line than within it. A system is judged closed or open depending on the amount of exchange between it and its external environment. Systems exhibit a natural tendency to maintain themselves by moving toward a state of equilibrium and/or integration among the forces acting within and upon them. Despite this inclination toward stability and balance, however, systems are subject to internal stresses and strains caused either by differences in internal components or by disturbances from external circumstances. The system will attempt to minimize these tensions and conflicts and preserve or reattain equilibrium through internal mechanisms of adaptation and adjustment.

Hence although the systems approach is concerned primarily with how stability is achieved, it nevertheless gives a great deal of insight into the process of change. Change is a consequence of how well the parts of the system fit together or how well the system fits in with other surrounding or interacting systems. The process of change is the process of tension reduction. The source of change lies primarily in the internal stresses and strains created by exogenous intrusions or endogenous inequalities. Proponents such as Parsons (1961), Cancian (1960), and Boskoff (1964) have answered the criticism that the systems notion is essentially static by pointing out that the reciprocal of the propositions regarding stability of sociocultural organizations should be viewed as propositions regarding change. That is, if some element or condition contributes to the stability of the system, the absence of that element or condition contributes to instability and/or change. More importantly, they emphasize that change and stability are not mutually exclusive

states. The system retains stability only by changing in response to changing exogenous conditions.

Below, I will have occasion to expand on the analysis of the implications of the systems approach for sociocultural change. First, however, it is important to demonstrate that systems theory provides a basis on which to integrate a large amount of holistic literature. The concept of *systems analysis* per se is relatively new to the social sciences. It is still rarely used in an anthropological or cultural context. A reading, however, of both classical and modern anthropologists (Ogburn 1922; Malinowski 1944; Linton 1936; Kroeber 1937; Kluckhohn and Murray 1953; White 1949; Honigmann 1959; Goodenough 1963) reveals that there has long been a tendency to view culture as consisting of interrelated components and configurations existing in varying degrees of integration but tending toward equilibrium. Of course, there is little consensus as to the exact names or nature of these components. Linton (1936) carves up culture in terms of universals, specifics, and alternatives; Honigmann (1959) emphasizes ideology, technology, and social organization; Erasmus (1961) talks of social, technological, and ecological factors; and Goodenough (1963) states that the four primary aspects of culture are precepts, propositions, values, and principles of action. Whatever the components, however, there is widespread agreement that they form a system. One will easily note a fundamental systems orientation in the following three statements by anthropologists:

> Since there is a correlation and interdependence of parts, a rapid change in one part of our culture requires readjustment through other changes in the correlated parts of culture. [Ogburn 1922:200]

> Culture consists of a body or flow of culture traits (objects, acts, ideas) which interact with one another, forming new permutations, combinations, and synthesis. [White 1969:xxv]

> Change in any part of a stable system sets in motion a series of compensatory adjustments in its other parts and in their mutual arrangements until a new equilibrium is reached. A people's culture and their phenomenal world form such a system. [Goodenough 1963:322]

In line with the systems approach, anthropologists consider cultures as closed or open (Wolf 1966); they recognize the external environment, physical and social, as a major source of cultural change (Kroeber 1937); and they emphasize that a change in one cultural component requires changes in the others (Ogburn 1922).

Moving to the sociological literature, we find that the systems notion is widely and clearly advocated. In fact, it forms the basis of one of sociology's major theoretical schools—functionalism. This school has been described as consisting of that "collectivity of theorists who look

upon society as a system, the maintenance of which is the function of recurrent social activity" (Whitaker 1965:128). Functionalists have also been labeled "order" and "integration" theorists because they strongly emphasize system maintenance through equilibrium and/or integration tendencies. They consider functional those elements of the system which contribute to its stability. Such elements include both normative consensus and social control. Since functionalists describe the social system in terms of inertia, they tend to seek the causes of change among factors external to the system. They hypothesize that exogenous forces generate internal stresses thereby motivating adaptive responses which lead to social change (Parsons 1951, 1960, 1961; Boskoff 1964; Hobbs 1971). Talcott Parsons, who is perhaps the leading functionalist, uses these propositions to develop a complex model of society (1951, 1960, 1961). To summarize very briefly, this model divides society into four levels: technical, managerial, institutional, and societal. On each level, social units—roles, institutions, values, and groups—interact and serve to coordinate and control the specialized units in the level below it in an overall effort to meet four basic functional requirements: adaption, goal attainment, integration, and pattern maintenance (AGIL).

Another school in sociology, the cybernetic school, offers both a more refined and a more limited systems model of society (see Buckley 1967; Maruyama 1963; Cadawallader 1959). This approach is largely derived from studies of machines and electric circuits. It views society as a communication network whose activity is the product of a flow of factual, operational information through receptors, channels, selectors, effectors, and feedback loops. Basic to the cybernetic model is the concept *ultrastability*—the system's capacity to change structure and activity in response to a changing environment. Members of this school have been attacked for failing to take into account irrational behavior, the distribution of power, and the flows of expressive communication (Etzioni and Etzioni 1964). They can take credit, however, for two important contributions to the general systems concept: (1) they recognize the importance of positive as well as negative feedback loops, and (2) they emphasize the importance of information for the operation of the system.

A third major school of sociological theory is the *conflict*, or *coercion*, school (Coser 1956; Dahrendorf 1959; Horowitz 1966; Kim 1973). As the name implies, this group is at odds with many aspects of the integration/order approach. But it too accepts the systems notion. Conflict theorists contend that society is a system which is essentially stable and orderly, and they consider change the product of stress and strain (conflict) within the system. In contrast to the functionalists and

cyberneticists, however, conflict theorists contend that equilibrium is a product of coercion rather than consensus and that internal conflict results from inequalities in the distribution of wealth, power, and privilege rather than from environmental intrusions. The reader should note that earlier I explained that change in systems may be caused by either exogenous forces or endogenous inequalities. It should now be clear that functionalists and cyberneticists emphasize the former cause while coercionists focus on the latter. The conflict approach is useful because it explains sudden, violent, or internally derived change. It should, however, be viewed as an extension of and not a substitute for the integrationist perspective. As Coser emphasizes, it is unwise to sharply differentiate a sociology of order from a sociology of conflict because the exclusive emphasis on one or the other tends to obscure social reality (1957).

To this point I have reviewed the major characteristics of systems analysis, and I have shown that it serves to integrate a diverse body of holistic literature. I have also provided a general sketch of how this approach enables us to understand the process of sociocultural change. I will now take our discussion one step further and apply the systems notion to innovation or one specific form of change.

As will be noted in chapter 7, there are a great number of findings and conclusions regarding the acceptance and diffusion of innovations. Systems analysis seems to carry implications for almost all of them. The discussion here will be restricted to two of the most important of these conclusions: (1) Some sociocultural systems accept innovations more readily than others. (2) Some innovations are more readily accepted in a sociocultural system than others.

To describe a system's propensity to accept innovations, writers have employed such terms as modernity, scale, flexibility, and threshold of change. Systems theory enables us to replace these notions with the concepts of differentiation and integration. A society differentiates to increase responsiveness to exogenous and endogenous conditions; it integrates to maintain equilibrium (Parsons 1961). I can reasonably hypothesize that readiness to accept innovations is directly related to the degree of differentiation and inversely associated with the level of integration.

I hypothesize that the more differentiated the society, the more receptive it will be to innovations because, with increased adaptability, change is less threatening to system maintenance. Furthermore, as differentiation makes communication channels more efficient and information more technical, the system is better able to recognize dysfunctions in its operations and evaluate advantages of innovations. Charles

Erasmus, though his approach is more man-oriented than holistic, lends support to this reasoning. He asserts that differentiation and specialization in society allow for more technical observations of social phenomena, and this enables man to better select behavioral alternatives (innovations) which maximize need fulfillment (1961).

I hypothesize that a more integrated society will be more resistant to innovation because an integrated society rests at or near a state of equilibrium, its natural state. An innovation, unless exceptionally compatible, will upset the delicate balance. An unintegrated society, however, is in a state of flux, trying to regain stability. Hence, it should welcome innovations which might contribute to this effort. Alvin Boskoff makes a similar point. Using Parson's model, he reasons that innovations are adaptive responses to dysfunctional conditions. He defines dysfunctional conditions as including (1) interpersonal and intergroup conflict, (2) intergroup competition, and (3) a perceived failure in existing practices (1964). These conditions, of course, are characteristics of nonintegration.

To test my hypotheses, I looked at how the notions of differentiation and integration fit into studies contrasting change-resistant (traditional) societies with change-oriented (modern) societies (Redfield 1947; Lerner 1958; Rostow 1960; Hagen 1962; Levy 1966). As I expected, these studies invariably describe traditional societies as undifferentiated and highly integrated and modern societies as highly differentiated and unintegrated. As a second test, I tried to determine if the two systems notions serve to explain the series of cultural constructs offered by Homer Barnett (1953) as indicators of a culture's propensity to change. These constructs include the level of competition, the degree of conflict, the amount of cooperation, the extent of dependency, and the expectation of change. Though I will not take the time to go into each of these constructs here, we can conclude that, indeed, the concepts of differentiation and integration apply to all of them.

Now that we have considered why some systems more readily accept innovation than others, we must tackle the question of why, in the same system, some innovations are more readily accepted than others. I have noted elsewhere that Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) and others conclude that innovations are more likely to gain acceptance if they are compatible, advantageous, understandable, trialable, and observable. Though these characteristics are generally defined in terms of human perspectives, they are easily understandable from a systems standpoint. For example, the characteristic of compatibility is important because it enables the system to accept the innovation without disturbing existing conditions. Presumably, the more integrated the system, the more

compatible and acceptable the innovation must be. In the same vein, an advantageous innovation is one which helps the system reduce dysfunction and regain equilibrium. I would expect the advantage of an innovation to weigh most heavily in systems which are out of balance. The characteristics of understandability, trialability, and observability are all relevant in terms of the system's information-processing and feedback mechanisms. Innovations interacting with these three aspects tend to be acceptable because the system can easily evaluate their efficacy.

Finally, the systems approach allows us to account for two other common findings pertaining to the acceptance of innovations: (1) The acceptance of novelties tends to be followed by further changes, and (2) an innovation is often modified when accepted (Kushner et al. 1962). Both of these findings can be viewed as consequences of the adjustment process that the system goes through in response to an initial disturbance.

The discussion of systems analysis has shown that this approach enables us to explain a large amount of change literature, including both holistic theories and micro findings. In concluding the discussion of this theoretical model, we must consider its implications for education programs and for applied change efforts.

Because information is essential to the operation of a system, education, formal and nonformal, makes perhaps its greatest contribution to the system through its ability to provide such information. Walter Buckley has written, "The sociocultural system is to be viewed as a set of elements linked almost entirely by way of the intercommunication of information" (1967:82). Information is also the key aspect of feedback mechanisms. Education programs, then, acting as dispersers and processors of information, can link components within and between systems as well as provide the messages necessary for the system to evaluate and adjust its activities to insure maintenance. If, as R. C. Young suggests, development itself may be defined "as a nation's overall ability to process information" (1968:364), then educational programs can be viewed as having a key role in the modernization sequence. This reasoning is supported through research conducted by Joseph Farrell (1970). Using a large body of data pertaining to Latin America in 1950 and 1960, he determines that educational structural differentiation—the establishment of more specialized and autonomous educational units—is highly associated with a society's information-processing capacity in both the political and economic sectors. He concludes from his evidence that to establish a highly differentiated educational system is to establish an effective set of communication links, and hence "educational structural differentiation can indeed be

said to be an exceedingly important dimension of educational systems in developing nations" (p. 76). Farrell's work indicates that planners must be concerned with not only an educational system's size but also its structure. They must consider the diversity of the information that it transmits. Presumably, the utilization of nonformal programs will augment that diversity and, by so doing, contribute to development.

In addition to contributing to a society's information-processing capacity, education can be seen as relating to the processes of societal differentiation and integration. Educational programs represent both a product and facilitator of differentiation. They are a product in that their origins lie with the separation of socialization from the exclusive domain of the family. They are a facilitator in that they can contribute to further differentiation by providing the skills necessary to sustain increasingly specialized social units. Formal and nonformal education's role in the integration process is even more apparent. Through their capacity to transmit common knowledge, values, and experiences, they can help bring together elements both within and between systems. This ability is particularly important in developing countries because they are often plural or segmented, characterized by two or more distinct systems. Joseph Farrell writes in this regard: "The school is a broker institution. Not only does the school itself serve as a broker, a carrier of superordinate culture in subordinate areas, a socializing agent of the superordinate culture, but it turns out into the community individuals who can form a broker class" (1967:181). In this sense, educational programs do more than merely integrate a system; they also cause a system to expand its boundaries. A national education program, for instance, can help bring together several independent systems into one overall network. Nonformal education can often complement the national system by providing information to more isolated locales or population sectors. Many observers have noted that education can be especially useful in integrating urban and rural areas (Moreira 1960; Nash 1965; Foster 1966; Arnove 1973). They reason that schools, since they are essentially urban institutions, tend to transmit to rural areas urban knowledge and norms while providing rural graduates with urban mobility opportunities. In other words, education programs can foster a flow of messages from city to countryside and a flow of people from countryside to city.

In relating systems analysis to applied change, the reader should note that this approach does not specify a definite change strategy. It does serve, however, to explain, integrate, and confirm many of the recommendations appearing in the planned change literature. It indicates, for instance, that nonformal educators should know the client

culture, build on collective dissatisfaction, and introduce changes which are compatible with existing realities. According to Robert Chin (1969: 303–4), the use of systems analysis by change agents has these possibilities: (1) diagnosticians can avoid the error of simple cause-and-effect thinking; (2) they can justify what is included in observation and interpretation and what is temporarily excluded; (3) they can predict what will happen if no new or outside force is applied; (4) they are guided in categorizing what is relatively enduring and stable, or changing, in the situation; (5) they can distinguish between what is basic and what is merely symptomatic; (6) they can predict what will happen if they leave the events undisturbed and if they intervene; and (7) they are guided in selecting points of intervention. Of course, in the final analysis, the effective use of this theoretical approach requires that the system's components and relationships be accurately identified. While this is no mean task, change efforts, including those involving both formal and nonformal education programs, must be planned with a recognition of the interdependent nature of the system of which they form a part. Without fostering multiple interventions in the sociocultural system to enhance the probabilities of achieving desired ends, change agents and educators are likely to see their programmatic efforts swamped or overcome by other, more powerful components in the system. I shall return to this thesis in the chapters which follow and discuss it in some depth in chapter 7.

Summary and Conclusion

Some of the implications of this relatively brief overview of a sample of the literature on social change for nonformal education can now be summarized. Alternative conceptions of education, especially nonformal education programs, have the advantage of not being tied to an overarching bureaucratic structure. Although such flexibility augurs well for adapting programs to particular populations and locales, it does not mean that such programs can be fostered in a sociocultural vacuum. Instead, out-of-school education, because it lacks much of the legitimacy associated with formal schools, must be especially well planned in light of such sociocultural constraints. Both the systems and behavioral theories support such a proposition. The difficulty lies in discovering and analyzing either the components of the social system, both exogenous and endogenous, or the environmental contingencies which impinge upon a population's behavior. Because nonformal education programs are less concerned with the transmission of information and skills for certificates and diplomas and more concerned with the transmission

and utilization of information and skills for altering the environment, the importance of the larger context within which the program exists takes on added dimensions. In effect, program planners must often be as concerned with the economic, political, social, and ecological context within which the program exists as they are with the more traditional schooling issues centering on pedagogy.

A second major implication of the social change literature concerns the importance of understanding the nature of the client population. Because nonformal educators generally desire that the experiences received in such programs transfer to the real world of the clients and are readily applicable to their environment, it is clear that one must begin by assessing their perceptions of their needs. Both the psychodynamic and behavioral theories clearly place an emphasis on the importance of identifying such deprivations or felt needs. The programmatic response to such state variables is either to provide the fulfillment of such needs or to alter these variables through behavioral reinforcement techniques.

A third implication of these macro theories lies with the nature of the educational process itself. The literature reviewed suggests that social change is a two-way process involving primarily horizontal rather than vertical interpersonal relationships. Thus, the involvement of the clients in their own learning, with a maximization of voluntary control over, and voluntary involvement in, their learning activities is essential. The communications theorists are rather clear that even when programs involve the use of more technologically advanced media, clients must receive consideration in the planning and production of what they see and hear.

A fourth implication of this literature suggests that nonformal education programs for social change must go beyond the traditional processes associated with teaching and learning in schools. Seldom, for example, is it clear that schools are concerned with the transfer of what is acquired by students inside school to its application in the wider environment. Likewise, the facts that students are a captive audience of schools, that schools stress grades and diplomas rather than new skills and behaviors, and that the classroom teacher is held out as the final institutional authority in matters of what curricula are to be taught, are not typical of the kinds of characteristics which nonformal programs are likely to adopt. Instead, nonformal educators will borrow certain principles of teaching and learning from the traditional schooling process as they can be applied to improving the quality of life for their clients.

Finally, the social change literature points to the importance of

incentives for altering behavior. The systems, psychodynamic, and behavioral theorists support the notion that rewards, whether they are conceived as, among other possibilities, the resolution of conflict, positive feedback, the satisfaction of felt needs, or a decrease in the state of deprivation, are important for changing both internal states and other forms of behavior. It is also apparent that such rewards are often not an integral part of the educational program. In other words, whether we are referring to formal or nonformal education, such programs are conceived as process variables rather than output variables. Thus the effects of educational activities and, therefore, the incentives for learning have to be ascertained in the context of the learner's environment where he, for example, alters production to increase yields, invests in new seeds or fertilizers, or competes with others for wage-earning status. If the learner is able to see the connection between the educational program and the achievement of an expected outcome, it can be assumed that the value of the education experience will become apparent. A large proportion of the rewards in the context of national development, therefore, will emanate from individuals and institutions which form part of the wider system but generally are exogenous to the educational program.

The following four chapters review past and present examples of nonformal education and micro social change programs in Latin America. These examples are grouped into separate topic areas by chapter: nonformal adaptations of schools, adult literacy and basic education, educational extension and community organization programs, and community and integrated development. On the basis of the principles summarized above from the previous discussion of social change theories, the description of actual nonformal education programs in these chapters is intended to provide insight into the predominant strategies employed in fostering social change programs. As appropriate, I attempt to assess these activities and efforts by applying the principles just outlined. These include relationships with components in the wider social system, understanding the needs of the client populations, the involvement of clients in their own learning, the transfer and application of new behaviors to the environment, and the attention to incentives both internal and external to the program.

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3.

Nonformal Alternatives in Formal Education

This chapter is devoted to a discussion of the role of schools in the context of nonformal education with emphasis on the use of schools as centers both of community involvement and community action and of technical-vocational training programs. The first section outlines the traditional schooling model in Latin America leading to the extension of schooling to rural areas through the Mexican cultural missions and the Bolivian community-based program at Huarizata. Other programs for which these two became precursors are then described and a discussion of family schools and current nonformal education efforts of a sample of Latin American ministries of education follows. The second section looks at technical-vocational training with some attention to the SENAI model in Brazil, Cuba's efforts, and two programs for poor urban youngsters in Colombia and Ecuador. Throughout the chapter it is argued that there exist few recent innovations in the application of nonformal alternatives in formal education and those that do exist often fall under the direction and criteria of formal schools. Furthermore, it is pointed out that although some efforts are directed at community action efforts, these are not well developed and the reliance is principally on a man-oriented approach to social change. The primary problems appear, therefore, to be a lack of programmatic coordination of education with other social service agencies as a component in broader programs and the lack of articulation between education and the world of work.

The Schooling Tradition

As is the case among nations that have experienced colonial status, much of Latin American educational development has been dependent

upon patterns which were either imposed or borrowed from outside the region itself. Although formal schooling existed at the time of the conquest among the more complex indigenous societies in Latin America, such institutions were replaced by the carriers of the faith and the seekers of gold from the Iberian peninsula. As Spain became a leader in teaching and learning during her Golden Age (fifteenth to seventeenth centuries), schools and scholars multiplied, and the motivation for the perpetuation of humanism in the Greco-Roman tradition, the education of an elite, and the spread of Catholicism flourished. In the New World, the prime transmitters of education were the Spanish priests, especially the Jesuits, who were charged with the building of schools, the training of teachers, and the education of the populace for correct moral and ethical conduct. Such religious and rhetorical education was alien to the masses as it was designed to prepare priests and serve the upper classes. The contributions of the *conquistadores* through the eighteenth century and until the era of independence included Iberian educational institutions, the addition of the Spanish and Portuguese languages, the Latin culture and value system, and Catholicism. Thus, the initial intrusion into the New World established the basic patterns of education as well as political, economic, and social institutions and practices.

Latin American independence following the French invasion into Spain and Portugal found all countries except Brazil with political, organizational, and economic problems which overshadowed the development of educational systems. This period (1821-1910), often referred to as the era of the dictators, was marked by the fear of enlightening the masses through education, by the sending of children of elite families to France or Spain to be educated, and by the continuation of an industrial and technological lag as many of the countries assumed an economic role as exporters of raw materials to the United States and Britain. Although several countries, among them Mexico, Argentina, Chile, and Cuba, began public educational programs during the nineteenth century, it was not until the early years of the twentieth century that substantial development of schooling occurred.

The major influence on Latin American education in the nineteenth century came from France. As a result, most educational systems became more highly centralized with strong emphasis placed on an academic curriculum of an encyclopedic nature geared toward the study of Europe rather than the New World. Building on the French influence and turning toward the United States, most countries had taken control of their educational systems from the Church and had legislated into existence a system of primary education by the turn of the century.

As a result, in part, of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, foreign

models of education gave way to a more national consciousness and introspection concerning the nature of each country's problems. One of the educational innovations which emerged during the ensuing decade was directed toward the role of the school as a center of community promotion activities. As George Sanchez indicates, however, such efforts were not without precedent in Latin America. In the following comments he describes the first school in the New World established at Texcoco in the year 1523 by Fray Pedro de Gante:

> It is characteristic of the efforts of the educational pioneers of this period that they practiced the theory, that, in order to teach, the teacher must first be a disciple of his pupils. Fray Pedro and his companions learned the Aztec language. They studied Indian customs and established cordial and friendly relationships with the Indian nobles as well as with the masses. Instruction in this first school was carried on in Spanish and in the Indian (Aztec) language. Fray Pedro made every effort to relate his teachings to the natural life of his students. Through physical activities, through music and processions, by the use of pictorial illustrations and hieroglyphics, and through the medium of their own language, this far-seeing educator made the school as natural as possible for the Indians and made it truly a school of action and a school of the people. In 1526, Fray Pedro transferred his centre of operations from Texcoco to the City of Mexico proper. There he established the great Indian school of San Jose in connection with the convent of San Francisco. There he gathered more than 1,000 Indian children to instruct them in arts and crafts, in music, in reading, and in myriad activities. There, two hundred years before Pestalozzi, three hundred years before Froebel, and almost four hundred years before John Dewey, he had an activity school, a school based on current life. [1936:37]

Even though there apparently existed educational innovators like Fray Pedro among the Spanish priests and even though some of the early instruction of Indian children utilized music, pantomime, and the arts, such models were isolated exceptions to general practices. Instead, schools were almost exclusively devoted to urban dwellers who were characterized by both the financial means and the values which made schooling feasible and necessary. Until the twentieth century, schools offered little to the nonelite child in terms of practical subject matter of relevance to his present and future standing and activity in society. Few, if any, rural schools existed during this period and those which did exist were no different curricularly or pedagogically from those which urban youngsters attended.

The Extension of Education: Schools for Community Action and Community Involvement

Perhaps the earliest public program of community-based schooling, known as the cultural missions program, was initiated in Mexico in the

early 1920s. It was begun as a result of the problems encountered by primary school teachers working in federally operated schools in the rural areas. Prior to the program's initiation, supervising teachers, known as missionaries, had the task of visiting rural primary teachers in order to assist them in carrying out their instructional duties. In 1922 these supervisors met and decided that each rural school had to have arable land as agriculture was the essential base of the rural dweller. This notion led to the first cultural mission team in 1923—composed of an instructor in soapmaking, a tanner, two agriculturalists, a carpenter, and a homemaking teacher—who went from Mexico City to Zacualitpan in the State of Hidalgo. In the early years the cultural missions were basically traveling normal schools as they assisted rural teachers and augmented the rural curriculum. Later, they would spend up to three years in a region or community assisting with the construction of schools and in promoting community activities. By 1926 there were six missions in operation, by 1935 there were eighteen missions in contact with some four thousand rural teachers, and by 1943 there were thirty-four missions (Segura 1945).

In the late 1920s and 1930s, the missions were often criticized for not remaining in a locality long enough and during the 1930s, for spreading communist propaganda. They were discontinued for three years from 1938 to 1942 for these and for administrative reasons. By 1943 the missions were stationary and remained in a community from one to three years. About one-half of them worked with Indian populations. The teams consisted of a director, social worker, nurse and midwife, an agriculturalist, a construction specialist, two individuals in the trades and industries, a mechanic and film projector operator, a music teacher, and a recreation specialist (Ruiz 1958; Whetten 1948). Their objectives included raising the rural population's standard of living, improving local educational institutions, improving occupational skills, introducing new crops and increasing the number of domestic animals, improving public health through nutrition education, increasing recreational opportunities, eliminating undesirable foreign influences, and encouraging the formation of cooperatives and self-help community action programs. In order to increase the likelihood that the work initiated by the mission would continue after its departure, attempts were made to organize and work through community committees, teams, and groups (Segura 1945).

Nathan Whetten (1948) was studying rural communities in Mexico at this time and notes that the missions had problems recruiting trained personnel who were willing to work for low wages in the rural area. He also suggests that there was seldom enough time to accomplish all that

was intended. The missions would often enter a community and be viewed initially with some suspicion not only by the members of the community but by the local parish priests. Mission teams would generally overcome such resistance through music and recreation programs and would soon be organizing community committees for the discussion of the problems present. The work was long, tedious, and complex, however, and not all of the missions were able to achieve the team members' goals.

Whetten describes, for example, a project of one mission in 1944 at the community of San Pablo del Norte near the City of Puebla. The intent of the mission was to organize all the tortilla makers in the community into a large cooperative. Mills were to be purchased cooperatively for grinding corn, machines could be secured to make tortillas mechanically, a station wagon would serve to haul the tortillas to Puebla and bring back corn, and stands for selling the tortillas were to be erected in order to sell them in Puebla. The situation up to the time the mission began its project saw up to fifteen hundred women from San Pablo and adjoining villages carrying corn daily to one of the fifteen or twenty small mills and then returning home to prepare the tortillas. The women would then walk or take a bus six miles to Puebla with twenty five to fifty pounds of tortillas and sell them in the market. Each would have to pay a small fee for the privilege of selling her tortillas. Whetten describes the long-range goal of the project and the results:

> This scheme would obviate the necessity for all the fifteen hundred women to make the trip and sell the product individually. The director of the mission talked the proposition over with responsible state authorities, who, in turn, advised him to consult the cacique, since such a scheme might interfere with the latter's established business. Vested interests prevented the formation of the cooperative. The cacique threatened to fight the proposal to the bitter end. It is said that he has a monopoly on transportation and owns the buses which run between San Pablo and Puebla and which now carry full loads. He charges a fee for each person and each basket each way. Obviously, any proposal to substitute other forms of transportation or even to curtail the number of passengers would seriously interfere with his business. The owners of the corn grinders also objected strenuously, since their grinding fees would be curtailed; the City of Puebla objected because, instead of collecting marketing fees from fifteen hundred people, they would be able to collect from only a limited number. Even the consumers objected that machine-made tortillas might not taste so good as hand-made ones. [1948:445-46]

Although Whetten suggests that the missions were doing significant work during this period, the example above provides some insight into the problems encountered when the transmission of information and

skills along with community organization efforts are used as the major means for responding to basically social structural issues. Robert Redfield (1950), also studying a rural community in Mexico during this period, tends to support this observation. Redfield had originally studied the Community of Chan Kom in 1933. He returned in 1948 and learned that a cultural mission team of ten individuals had been in the community for a year and a half in 1944 and 1945. He found that relatively little remained of their work. In Redfield's words:

> The two leatherworkers, already mentioned, continue the practical art they learned from the mission, as do, although more rarely, the youth who learned carpentry and the girls who learned how to give hypodermic injections. The people's knowledge of musical instruments was considerably extended, and several men, as reported in foregoing pages, learned how to dig wells. But not one of the little raised stoves of lime cement which the mission taught the people to build is now in use, nor have any of the privies built been kept in repair. In the less practical, more purely expressive arts, the enduring accomplishments of the mission are almost nil. [1950:146–47]

Even though the cultural missions in Mexico were initiated around problems associated with rural schooling, evolving in later years as community action programs, there is little evidence to suggest that members of communities were actual decision makers in these activities, that wider structural constraints were ever analyzed, or that the need for incentives for behavioral change were recognized. Nevertheless, the missions were bold efforts to use the school as a center for social change, and as a consequence the impact of the missions as an educational and community development model was far reaching in Latin America. Although I discuss community development programs in a subsequent chapter, it is perhaps worthwhile now to mention some of the educational programs which used the missions as a model.

Even though Costa Rica apparently had mobile schools or *escuelas ambulantes* for rural children as early as 1914 (Furbay 1946) and other countries began such schools later on, the cultural missions model elaborated considerably on the station wagon or truck that would travel from community to community carrying educational messages, often by loudspeaker, to isolated areas. By 1936 in Cuba, for example, rural civic schools were organized throughout the country. These schools were expected to abolish illiteracy and improve the conditions of life for farmers by helping them modernize agricultural methods. Where permanent schools were not established, traveling schools were begun. By 1939 there were forty educational missions, each serving thirty to fifty rural schools. Each mission had a staff of eight including an expert in pedagogy, a veterinarian, a dentist, and specialists in farming, industrial

trades, homemaking, and hygiene. The "missionaries" went from school to school staying for a one-week period. Also in Cuba, under the Ministry of Agriculture, courses were offered in agriculture and home economics by correspondence, radio, and *escuelas ambulantes* (Turosienski 1943). By the 1940s Peru had traveling schools combined with a mission's program to complement public schools. Teams were constituted by specialists as in Mexico and Cuba and the group employed bilingual education techniques as it traveled to communities announcing its arrival with a radio and a loudspeaker attached to its station wagon (Ebaugh 1946). The traveling school was complemented by traveling libraries and musicians in Chile (Ebaugh 1945; Hall and Stanton 1941) and Colombia (Furbay 1946; Samper-Ortega 1939) and by cultural missions in Venezuela (Goetz 1947), Guatemala (Benjamin 1952), Costa Rica (Furbay 1946; Alers-Montalvo 1953), and sometime later in Brazil (Rios, 1957).

Some of these programs, like that of Venezuela, were so small, relying on two or three vehicles and teams, that they were more useful as visible public relations efforts for politicians than they were as actual educational efforts for rural populations. Although the cultural missions were thus copied by other Latin American nations as a model for reaching rural populations, they were seldom carried out with the same motivation and intent as in Mexico.

Parallel to the efforts of the missions and the mobile schools were the U.S.-influenced farm schools where a small plot of land was used by the students to grow crops and gain some limited agricultural experiences supposedly relevant to life as it was lived by the rural children. In Cuba, for example, farm schools were introduced in 1914 and were required to have a field devoted to agricultural experiments which the children would cultivate themselves (Turosienski 1943). In 1918 Costa Rica had a similar program (Furbay 1946), and other countries followed later. It was also popular to initiate boarding schools built around a piece of land. This was the case in Chile (Ebaugh 1945), Peru (Ebaugh 1946), and Cuba (Turosienski 1943) in the 1930s and 1940s. In Cuba, for example, there existed such schools in each of the six provinces. Known as children's colonies (Patronato Nacional de Colonias Infantiles) each primary school was designed to accommodate up to 100 children for three months and included the regular urban curriculum in addition to nature study, farming, and manual training (Turosienski 1943). These rural schools, whether primary or secondary, were intended to awaken vocational, especially farming, interests among children and their parents and to promote community action. The hope was to extend education while demonstrating the importance of agriculture and the rural area to the nation as a whole.

One community school, and perhaps the best known during this period, was founded in 1931 on a desolate Bolivian plateau known as Huarizata. Although the school was initiated by an outsider, Elizardo Pérez, as a way to instill educational interests in Indian adults and children and to provide practical skills as well as to overcome Indian suspicions of the "white man," it soon functioned as a community school. Pérez began to build the school himself and was soon joined by four or five adults from the community. Indian committees were established based on the model of organization and administration of communal property used by the Indians. The land around the school was used for cultivation, and instruction was carried out bilingually. The school was of the boarding type for both boys and girls aged seven to fifteen years (De Lozada 1939). By 1936 the government established sixteen other schools based on the Huarizata model which by then was referred to as a nuclear school or *nucleo escolar campesino.* The nucleo was usually a primary school of several grades and was surrounded by sectional or one-grade schools which fed into the nucleo. These sectional or unitary schools depended on the staff of the nucleo for instructional and curricular guidance as well as for administrative assistance. The schools were practical in orientation with carpentry, sewing, masonry, and mechanics forming part of the curriculum. Students normally would spend half of their time in classrooms and the other half in workshops. Parents were often involved in at least some of the decisions affecting the school's operation (Velasco 1940).

In 1944, several educators from the United States entered Bolivia as part of the Servicio Cooperativo Interamericano de Educación (Inter-American Cooperative Service of Education) and assisted with the design of a didactic guide for Andean rural schools (Baum 1963). The nuclear Huarizata-type schools were used to train teachers and the idea of the nuclear school was spread to several other Latin American countries (Hughes 1946; Hart 1957). Thus, the nuclear schools which began from the Huarizata community model were diffused throughout Latin America, almost exclusively by North American educators like Tom Hart and Ernie Maes, originally members of the Servicio Cooperativo in Bolivia. Today, one can find nuclear or central schools that are linked administratively to smaller unitary schools in, for example, Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala, Colombia, and Venezuela, countries where these and other North American educators worked in educational assistance efforts. These nucleos, however, are seldom of the community involvement type. Instead, they are intended as primarily administrative mechanisms and points of diffusion to the smaller unitary schools to which they relate. A recent evaluative study of nucleo-type normal schools in three zones near Cochabamba in Bolivia tends to support

this point. Results suggest that such schools are copies of urban schools in their curriculum and structure, are superficially related to the rural area and to community problems, and are not tied to other rural schools (Alegría et al. 1973). Even though the nuclear schools flourished in several countries during the period of residence of the North American advisors, they soon fell into disuse after the advisors' departure and are now dying a slow death in Venezuela and Guatemala. Although a new form of nucleos is being instituted in Peru, Colombia, and Ecuador and is discussed later, the old nucleos initiated by the North Americans in Peru have been eliminated (Paulston 1970).

Another community-school program of some importance in Latin America, this one directed more to community involvement than to community action, was initiated in Brazil in the early 1940s. Unrelated to either the cultural missions or the nucleos, the Campanha Nacional de Escolas da Comunidade (CNEC) was begun in 1943 by a group of university students in Recife. The program operates only at the secondary level. A school is developed by the local community after a minimum of 100 local residents petition to the regional or national office of CNEC. The community then assumes formal responsibility for operating the school. Although some financial support is derived from CNEC's regional and national offices, the community, through small monthly donations, mobilizes the majority of the funds needed. By 1970, CNEC operated classes with 14,000 teachers in 1,224 schools for 281,000 students. Most of the schools belonged to the CNEC network (USAID 1972). A recent set of case studies of a small sample of these CNEC schools by Verhine (1975) found their governance to be characterized by limited community participation and a great disparity among the schools in both the availability of funding and in overall quality. Apparently, the CNEC schools are constrained by a standard Ministry of Education curriculum which has limited their flexibility in adapting to the needs of individual communities.[1]

A modified school community program, probably the largest and most widespread of its type in Latin America was initiated by the Catholic Church in Venezuela in the mid-1950s. Known as Fe y Alegria (Faith and Happiness), it is a lay, nonprofit school system operated under the auspices of the Catholic Church and currently found in Peru, Bolivia,

[1] An extremely short-lived community-school program existed in Peru in the late 1960s. The project, known as CRECER (Campaña para la reforma eficaz de las comunidades escolares de la República), was initiated with AID support in 1967 to train teachers to apply social science methodologies to community study and community development (Paulston 1970).

El Salvador, Panama, Ecuador, and Colombia. By 1965, Fe y Alegria in Venezuela, where it is most developed, had forty-nine primary, five secondary, and two normal schools located in Caracas and interior towns and enrolled some twenty-five thousand youngsters (Hall 1965). Each school is to serve as a community center in order to bring a minimum of education, Christian morals, and health care to poor urban dwellers. Catholic nuns and brothers from several different religious orders, along with lay teachers, are normally found to assume teaching duties and each is to work under a lay board in the respective cities. Funds are raised either through the selling of tickets for the raffling of prizes through lotteries or through donations from national and international agencies. Parents who can afford to make a token payment for their children's school attendance are asked to do so. Although the formal schooling aspect of the Fe y Alegria movement as well as the potential involvement of the parents in the program is clear, the community development component appears to vary according to the national leadership. In Colombia, for example, there appears to be relatively little done in this area whereas in Panama the program works extensively in such areas as cooperatives, community development, and community theater.

RECENT ADAPTATIONS AND EXTENSIONS OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Private schools.—Among the most recent school-community programs in existence in Latin America which offer some potential for creating a generalizable model for community involvement are those located in Argentina and Brazil. Known as family schools, they are based on a French model and have been used extensively in Africa. In Argentina, the program has operated since 1970 in the Northern section around the city of Reconquista. Each EFA or *escuela familiar agrícola*, has a team of four or five monitors who work with a council of local parents and the students in operating the school. The schools are first-cycle secondary schools (three years) where twenty to thirty male and female students attend one week, live in and do all the upkeep with the exception of cooking, and then return to their homes for two weeks. Thus, the school can be used for all grades on a rotating basis (i.e., week one, first grade; week two, second grade; week three, third grade; week four, first grade; and so on). Economically, this rotating system is potentially cheaper as fewer dormitories, classrooms, and so on are needed. At the same time, however, instructional costs are not necessarily reduced as a result of the apparent need to have four or five monitors at each school (APEFA 1974).

The EFA schools were begun by individuals from the area with the assistance of Jean Charpentier, a French educator and former Minister of Agriculture in France. The schools were thought to be necessary, in part, as a result of generation-gap type communication problems among adult farmers and their children. By involving parents in the educational process of their children it was felt that some of these problems could be overcome. The curriculum, as the leadership points out, is based on questions not answers; there exists an aversion to the encyclopedic teaching-learning process of traditional schools. There is also a belief that life outside schools is more important than inside schools and that the family must be central to and responsible for the school (Charpentier 1968). The curriculum is organized around six areas including applied science, consciousness raising, social science, physical and natural science, and communication. The model, moving from the concrete to the abstract and back to the concrete, involves action, reflection, generalization, and action. The sixth area of the curriculum is known as the *plan de búsqueda* or independent study. Students have a list of questions for which, while at home for two weeks, they must find answers. The questions are generally based on themes from one of the five curricular areas and may be suggested by students, teachers, or parents. The questions, designed to encourage students to seek assistance from their parents, generally begin with personal and family issues and then move to those of the community, nation, and the world.

The area within which all but two of the twelve schools operated by APEFA exist is inhabited by about 95 percent third- and fourth-generation Italians from the area of Friuli, Italy. Additionally, approximately 95 percent of the population are members of cooperatives. These two factors, ethnicity and community organization, are helpful in explaining the apparent success of the APEFA program. Since each community must request the establishment of a school, as with CNEC in Brazil, the ethnic and community organization characteristics mean that there exists not only a history of common values and language but also a community infrastructure where people are accustomed to collaborating for the achievement of common goals. Whether these demographic factors or simply the philosophy and operation of the EFAs explains the program's success is now being tested as the last two schools initiated exist outside of this ethnic enclave and are among a poorer criollo population.

Once a community secures a school, it automatically joins the federation of APEFA which trains the teachers and supplies technical assistance to the teachers and communities that operate the schools. Each of the parents' organizations associated with an EFA is represented

in the Federation. The Federation is currently faced with several issues with regard to the program. The first may be termed political, as there exist pressures from educators at the national and regional levels which work against the innovativeness and flexibility found in EFAs. These pressures are related, in part, to the government's recent recognition of EFA graduates as having completed the equivalent of a junior high school education. The concern is that such a recognition by the government will bring interference with APEFA's philosophy, methods, and goals. The second issue, an economic one, involves a scarcity of resources as participating families are often unable to assist to any great extent in the financial operation of the schools. Finally, there exists a problem with finding competent teachers and training them to stay ahead of the parents in terms of flexibility and an openness to new ideas and directions. Even with these problems, however, the EFAs have been successful in keeping youngsters interested and active in rural life. A recent follow-up study found that of the 177 graduates of EFAs thus far, 127 are working in agriculture in the immediate area whereas the rest continue studying or working in allied fields.

The family school movement in Brazil is similar to that of Argentina. Known as MEPES (Movimento de Educação Promocional do Espírito Santo), it was begun as part of a wider community development program in 1968. Although the curriculum is organized into only three areas and based primarily on agriculture, the same philosophic tenets and independent-study-oriented alternating curriculum are present. The emphasis on community development and augmenting agricultural productivity appears to be greater in the Brazilian program than in that of Argentina and is likely to be explained through the program's initial community activities. As in the case of APEFA in Argentina, the communities where MEPES operates are about 80 percent inhabited by individuals of Italian descent (Centro de Estudos e Ação Social 1970).

Public schools.—Ministries of Education have also demonstrated renewed interest in recent years in community-based education. As mentioned earlier, Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador have begun to emphasize the nuclear school in development efforts. In Colombia, the effort is an aspect of the Concentraciones de Desarrollo Rural y Extensión Progresiva de la Escolaridad (Concentrations of Rural Development and Progressive Extension of Schooling). The program is apparently intended to extend rural schooling while coordinating at the local level many of the social services offered the rural campesino. In assessing the number of institutions represented in the rural area which are attempting to deliver social services, for example, the Ministry of

Education reports that eleven government ministries along with numerous trade unions, agricultural agencies, state departments of education, and municipal agencies are involved. Within the national government alone, the ministry reports that there exist thirty such programs. The concentrations of rural development program is designed to coordinate and integrate these various agencies at the local community level by channeling rural services for socioeconomic betterment. Through the auspices of the Ministry of Education, it is hoped that the replication and uncoordination in rural development efforts can be integrated into some meaningful whole. The concentrations program also includes the extension of formal schooling in the rural area through the nuclear school concept. Nucleos are intended to assume leadership and coordination of a series of cooperating sectional schools by offering supervision, in-service teacher training, and the extension of rural primary schooling to a minimum of fifth grade. Each of the thirty-two nucleos existing in 1971 was said to have a staff including teachers, an agriculture expert, a health worker, a home economics specialist, a technical trades expert, and a literacy worker (República de Colombia 1971).

The current Peruvian educational reform is also emphasizing community education and employing the nucleo concept. The process is designed to be highly participatory with students, parents, and teachers forming an educational community designed to provide permanent and lifelong education inside and outside of schools. The community-based nucleo is to be the center of this process (Salazar Bondy 1972). Although the educational reform law draws liberally from well known deschooling arguments concerning the social class bias of the traditional school, is grounded in both humanism and the world of work, and is supposedly based on individual progress rather than rigid educational levels, the total configuration looks a great deal like a somewhat more flexible yet highly bureaucratic formal school system. One aspect of the reform, for example, includes parallel modes of education existing alongside of the schooling hierarchy yet subject to criteria emanating from the formal system. Although the parallel system exists for those youth and adults who were unable to attend a basic education program in the formal system and is known as "basic worker education," it is yet to be implemented on any large scale. In terms of nonformal education, the Peruvian law outlines a national technical/vocational training program and an education extension program for cultural, recreational, and basic education programs (Bonilla 1974).

My first impression of the educational reform in Peru is that it contains rather clear and innovative philosophic dimensions and goal

statements. The rhetoric, however, has been wedded to a rather traditional structure which remains hierarchical involving articulated levels and grades in a supposedly community-based decision-making format. As can be noted in the prior discussion of nucleos, however, there is little that can be termed innovative in the nucleo concept in Peru or in Latin America. My second impression is that the actual reform is moving very slowly in Peru. As one high level educator who has been active in the reform since its beginning indicated to me in early 1975, some 90 percent of the implementation has yet to be manifested. It will take several years, therefore, to assess whether the Peruvian reform will match the radical rhetoric. Much of the educational reform's success will likely depend on the government's programs of land reform, worker-managed industries, and the like.

Ecuador's Ministry of Education is also moving toward a nonformal effort through its Programa de Educación Extraescolar which was due to begin in 1975. Existing schools will be used as "cultural centers" with teachers instructing their regular formal education classes to children for five hours of the day and involved in community development for another two hours. Other educational, business, and community agencies are being directed to lend their support to the educational effort involving schools as centers of popular culture, community development, or literacy. As in Peru, Ecuador is directing much of its nonformal efforts to youth and adults who have not attended, or attended for only a brief period, a formal schooling program. Again, the Ecuadorian nonformal program appears to be highly dependent on the formal system and builds upon the long tradition of nuclear schools (República de Ecuador 1975).

Although the concern here is with community-based education, it is perhaps worthwhile at this point to briefly point to three other nonformal education efforts by Ministries of Education in Latin America. In Bolivia, for example, the new thrust in nonformal education has apparently meant the adoption of the rhetoric of out-of-school and lifelong education while continuing with traditional adult education and literacy efforts (Bhola 1975). In Brazil, the *supletivo* is designed to supplement regular schooling for adolescents and adults who have not initiated or completed school and for those who seek further schooling after having achieved a particular level. As in Peru and Ecuador, however, the supletivo appears too oriented toward the formal system and is constrained by the existence of federal and state examinations and certificates based on formal schooling criteria (Almeida et al. 1975). A final example comes from Mexico where the national Congress approved a new education law in 1973 with specific mention of nonformal

education. Responsibility rests with the Ministry of Education and specifically with the Subsecretary of Popular Culture and Extrascholastic Education and includes urban, rural, indigenous, fundamental, audio-visual, fine arts, popular arts, studies in anthropology and history, and publications and libraries as program divisions. Within each of these divisions are numerous subdivisions. In the case of rural programs, for example, the cultural missions' efforts now include 162 teams, as well as rural development brigades, mobile rural classrooms, and public reading rooms. Nonformal education in Mexico probably represents one of the most extensive out-of-school government efforts in Latin America as it is designed not only to be complementary and supplementary to formal schools but also to function as an alternative. Thus, even though the Mexican program appears to suffer from a dependency on the formal system in some of its efforts, it nevertheless includes programs which are clearly independent of the formal schooling model (Dobson Ingram 1975).

DISCUSSION

Although there are other ministries and programs in Latin America that have attempted to extend educational activities to rural areas and to decentralize the process to the community level (e.g., Houghton and Tregear 1969; Wright and Lemus 1973; Asociación de Publicaciones Educativas 1973), the ones mentioned here provide some insight into the range of alternatives which have existed or currently function in Latin America. Whereas the majority of these programs, especially those based on the nuclear concept, use the school as an extension into rural areas and are little more than attempts to provide an administrative structure for coordinating and extending schools and schooling activities, a few may be termed community based. Programs like those of CNEC, APEFA, and MEPES actually involve to some extent parents, students, and teachers interacting around the interrelationships of the school and the community. Less clear in this regard are the Fe y Alegria and the new Peruvian nucleos. None of these community-based programs are self-sustaining financially, however, and it is not clear how strong the community participation actually is. Often only a relatively small number of community members apparently take the leadership while the remainder are relatively uninvolved. Where such schools do function with considerable community participation, the socioeconomic characteristics of the population are of a lower-middle-class level or higher and there exists a tradition of community organization. In addition, the presence of Italian immigrant populations seems to be related in

some cultural ways to the importance of supporting such institutions.

From the discussion, it is clear that only the recent family school movement in Argentina and Brazil is new to Latin America. Furthermore, with the exception of Fe y Alegria and CNEC, the remainder appear to be related historically to the original cultural missions of Mexico or to the nucleos of Bolivia. The current models have been changed only slightly from these programs of the 1920s and 1930s. It is also apparent, however, given the involvement of Ministries of Education in nonformal education through nucleos and through parallel modes of education alongside the formal system, that there exists an increased concern for flexibility in the delivery of educational services. Granted that such programs remain dependent on the formal system and have likely had their greatest impact in terms of increased access to educational programs, they nevertheless indicate a continual move toward the introduction of some decentralized decision-making processes and away from the highly rigid French models of the early years of this century.

Seldom do any of these educational extension and community-based programs go beyond the man-oriented model of sociocultural change. The assumption guiding such programs is similar to that of the development-oriented formal schools in that the delivery of new information, attitudes, and skills is expected to increase the human resource capacity of a particular community or region. Although some are moving in a more holistic direction, such programs generally offer only the incentive of educational participation in terms of altering behavior. Thus even though many attend to community development activities, none that I was able to find are forcefully attempting to deal with the political or economic structure in terms of employment or decision making in the wider environment. Whereas programs like the cultural missions APEFA and MEPES come closest in this regard, they do not appear to coordinate their programs with other social service agencies nor with the world of work except as a secondary dimension of their efforts. In Colombia, the Ministry of Education is apparently attempting to coordinate rural social service delivery and in Peru the rhetoric suggests that work and education will take on a viable partnership. But neither program has done these things and I personally doubt whether any primarily education program has the political and economic legitimacy to take the leadership in an education and social change relationship through the coordination of other social services. As will become apparent in subsequent chapters, educational programs are more likely to be successful in a supportive rather than in a leadership role with other agencies.

Schools and Technical/Vocational Training

In addition to the community-based educat models, schools in Latin America have long been employed as trai centers for technical and vocational skills. Although numerous typ f trade, artisan, and technical schools date back to the early days o the Spanish conquest, it was not until the early years of the twentieth century that they began to multiply in the public sector. In Uruguay, for example, there existed a Superior Council for Industrial Education as early as 1916. Under its leadership there were nineteen schools functioning in crafts and trades by 1932. Boys from fourteen to seventeen years of age who were not receiving other forms of education were supposedly obliged to attend during the day or evening for a minimum of nine hours per week. Agricultural schools were also established in Uruguay and employed as a nucleus for agricultural cooperative societies (Pan American Union 1933). By the 1940s most countries had such vocational, agricultural, and trade schools. In Colombia, for example, there were 26 vocational/agricultural schools, 142 commercial schools, and 14 industrial trade schools (Furbay 1946).

Probably the most innovative technical/vocational institution to emerge in Latin America in the 1940s, and one which has been employed as a model in several countries of the region, was initiated in Brazil in 1942. The institution is known as SENAI (National Apprenticeship Service of Industrial Training) and involves the collaboration of industry and government in the training of the industrial labor force. The idea for such a program apparently began in 1937 as the national government found itself short of funds in terms of expanding the national educational system. As a result of this restrictive budgetary situation, the constitution of 1937 includes the following statement concerning the role of industry in education: "It is the Duty of Industry and Economic syndicates in the sphere of their specialties to set up apprenticeship schools for their associates" (Abreu 1968:219). Because the industrialists apparently did not agree that it was appropriate for them to become involved in educational programs traditionally administered and funded by the government, and as there apparently did not exist any organized pressures from the industrial working-class population for such educational services, they did not cooperate voluntarily. The subsequent legislation creating SENAI, however, mandated such cooperation through a tax paid by employers on the total worker payroll. It is this aspect of the program, involving the maintenance of the educational programs through financial contributions of industrial employers, that establishes the SENAI effort as an innovative program in Latin America.

SENAI is designed to assist industry in training new skilled workers, for advanced training of skilled workers and master craftsmen, for on-the-job training of skilled and semiskilled workers and for training supervisors and technicians (Abreu 1968). In 1971 SENAI was supported by a 1 percent tax on the monthly payroll of industrial firms employing more than 100 people. In that year, it was (1) sponsoring thirteen industrial colleges, of which six were maintained by private industry, that enrolled 2400 students; (2) offering apprenticeship training for youth under eighteen years of age, enrolling 43,000 students in SENAI schools and about 50,000 on the job; (3) offering skills training, specialization, and upgrading of adults, enrolling 145,000 in SENAI schools and 101,000 on the job; and (4) working with several other agencies in training and upgrading industrial skills. In 1971, SENAI graduated 12,500 apprentices and trained or upgraded 154,000 adults and 330 technicians (USAID 1972).

On the basis of the SENAI experience, programs of a similar nature have been initiated during the last two decades in, among other countries, Colombia (SENA), Venezuela (INCE), Chile (SCT), Peru (SENATI), Argentina (CONET) (Pan American Union 1965; Abreu 1968), and most recently in Ecuador (SECAP). Some of these agencies have expanded their services to include basic education, agricultural technical assistance, and literacy programs and all vary in terms of the administrative relationships extant between the government and industry and in the amount and conditions of the tax levied to support the program (Paulston 1971; Díaz 1968). In terms of programs, for example, SENA in Colombia recently inaugurated a "popular professional preparation" program in both rural and urban areas of the country. Mobile units in the rural areas are directed at training individuals for the development of community enterprises, cooperatives, and entrepreneurs whereas in the urban areas the program is designed to train both the unemployed and underemployed. Also in the last few years, some SENAI-type institutions have collaborated with the armed forces in their respective countries to train conscripts. Usually affecting some 10 to 25 percent of the inductees, the programs offer instruction and counseling in the last few months of service. Such programs are often supported by AID and each enrolls up to four thousand individuals (Hall 1970).

An extension of the industrial collaboration with education model of SENAI was created in Brazil in 1946. Known as SENAC, or the National Service of Commercial Training, it is subordinate to the National Confederation of Commerce in Brazil and is characterized by a financial structure similar to that of SENAI. The training in SENAC is aimed at

the commercial sector of the economy and includes basic subject matter areas like secretarial and business education, typing, and beautician training along with more peripheral areas like coffee tasting. In 1971, SENAC operated seventy-five schools and centers as well as carried out programs in conjunction with various government agencies like the Brazilian armed forces. Some 92,500 individuals completed programs in 1971 (USAID 1972).

Cuba has perhaps been the site of the most recent innovations of technical/vocational training programs in Latin America. Within the last several years education programs there have placed a new emphasis on work and study linked to production (Paulston 1973). These programs are extensions of the earlier innovations in Cuban education of the 1960s and include "interest circle" programs built around scientific, technical, and cultural issues for primary and secondary students; worker and farmer improvement courses designed to enable the work force to complete primary school at the work site; on-the-job technical training in factories; and "people's schools" oriented to small craftsmen. Many of these programs emphasize the idea of work and study adapted to the worker's daily schedules. The "school to the countryside" program and the "centennial youth columns" program are also supportive of these principles. In the school to the countryside program nearly all secondary school youth move to the rural area for six to ten weeks per year and pursue their studies for one-half day and do farm work during the other half. Whereas centennial youth columns programs are primarily designed to increase productive work on a paramilitary production line basis, many youth have also been able to complete vocational education courses during the three-year period that they are engaged (Gillette 1972).

The Cuban programs use primarily moral and social incentives such as personal satisfaction and community betterment to encourage and foster participation in these education and work programs (Gillette 1972), but the majority of the technical/vocational programs in Latin America, primarily because of a lack of a strong ideological base equal to that in Cuba, must rely on more traditional socioeconomic incentives. The major source of such incentives is jobs. As McGinn comments, little value can be attached to training per se until opportunities exist for the application of what is learned. "Men cannot be contributing members of the economy until there are jobs for them to fill. For these and other reasons educational programs in urban Latin America will have little impact until structural changes are made in the societies that the schools and training institutions are supposed to serve" (1971:60).

The SENAI apprenticeship model appears to provide one viable relationship between education and job placement in Latin America. By paying the apprentice while he is learning his trade, industry channels him into a particular position through a combination of classroom and on-the-job experience. Programs which do not have such a relationship with employers often find that irrespective of how good the training experience, graduates in many countries seldom can find appropriate employment. The same phenomenon can be seen in self-employment training as well. In Guyana, for example, a program was begun in the David Rose Centre to train individuals for self-employment in cookery, handicrafts, leatherwork, metalwork, sewing, and woodwork. The goal was to train 800 unemployed young people through several three-month courses. After the first two courses in 1974, an evaluation was conducted and the report had these comments: "No effective action was taken to rectify the main shortcoming of the first training course, *viz.* the failure to link the training in a practical way to the following production stage. . . . In other words, the training programme tended to be regarded as an end in itself, rather than as a means to an end" (Pollard 1974:2).

This same problem of articulation between education and work has long plagued Latin American educational institutions which intend that their graduates will assume professional positions in rural areas. The issue in this case is not so much the existence of jobs but rather the kind of job that exists. As indicated in chapter 2, for example, the normal school or agricultural technical school graduate who completes his or her studies may opt for a better paid position in an urban area or choose to continue studying at a college or university rather than take up residence in the rural environment for which special training has been received (Williams 1969). Salaries, prestige, characteristics of rural as opposed to urban living, and so on may be important criteria in shaping the individual's decision. Clearly, whether it is recognized by vocational schools and programs or not, they are all faced with the dilemma of job placement or the relationship between what is learned and the opportunity for its application.

SCHOOLS AS TRAINING CENTERS FOR ECONOMICALLY POOR BOYS

The same problem can be seen in a different context in the following discussion of two nonformal education programs in Colombia and Ecuador. Whereas both programs are directed to economically poor boys in large cities, they approach this population from considerably

different perspectives. Even though the programs concentrate on technical/vocational skills, they are equally concerned with basic as well as social education. Neither program, however, has developed a response to the education-work dilemma.

The first program, known as the Citadela de los Niños (Citadel of Children) was implemented in 1970 and designed to provide technical, social, and basic education to *gamines* or boys who have little or no ties to their families of procreation and literally live on the streets of Bogota. Such boys often survive in groups or gangs (*galladas*) of ten to fifteen individuals. Some of the gamines work as shoeshine boys or in similar services while others beg and steal. Most sleep in doorways or entry halls around Bogota. Their numbers have been estimated at ten thousand to twelve thousand in the city and are viewed as an institutionalized phenomenon rather unique to Bogota.

The Citadel program is directed by the Catholic Salesian Brothers in coordination with four other religious communities and operates with a board of directors on which, among other members, the mayor of Bogota and the secretary of public health sit. The program operates five centers around the city in which are located cafeterias and dormitories, academic and technical/vocational classrooms and shops, libraries, recreation areas, and so on. One of these centers, the most recently built, is a miniature town outside of the city with eight dormitory buildings, a cafeteria, classrooms, a library, and various administrative offices corresponding to a regular town's office of the mayor, post office, and so on.

The main center of the program, Bosconia, is located in a poor section of downtown Bogota, and it is here the gamines have their first contact with the program. Forming part of the rear of this center is a patio and several receiving rooms where boys from the street (*externados* or "outsiders") may enter and leave during the day at will, receive meals, hair cuts, medical services, recreation, and have their clothes washed. As many as ninety boys a day enter and leave the patio area, carrying on a dialogue with representatives of the center and taking their first step toward becoming *eternos* or "insiders." The program attempts to make contact first with the leaders of the galladas or the *camadas* (a group of five to ten gamines who sleep together in the evenings) and encourage the group to enter the program as a unit.

Once having entered the program the eternos live in clans of approximately fifteen boys. These organizational units are employed in order to reproduce as closely as possible the social groupings to which the boys were accustomed on the outside. Each clan lives in a dormitory and is

self-governing in terms of discipline, decision making, and work responsibilities within the institution. Leaders are chosen by each clan and represent the group to the program's directorate. Another level of organization is the tribe, made up of two clans and again headed by an elected leader. The program is based on the notion that the boys were unaccustomed to rigid authority figures and rules when living in the streets and that they are more likely to adapt to an institutional setting if a self-governing approach is instituted. In visiting the program, one receives the impression that the self-governing principles derived from peer groups function quite well. In the new "mini town" center at Florida the boys have the keys to all offices and rooms, distribute the work load on a revolving basis among clans and tribes, elect their own leaders, discipline their colleagues, and so on.

All of the five hundred to six hundred boys aged six years and older work and study in one or more of the program's centers during the day under the guidance of instructors. In the evenings and away from the formal instructional part of the program, the ratio of adults to boys may be as high as one to 150. The explanation for such a high ratio appears to rest with the self-governing principles employed in the program. Instruction is carried out on a modified continuous progress plan where each boy acquires skills and knowledge at his own pace. Curriculum content is addressed holistically and pragmatically through an attempt to relate the technical to the affective and cognitive in a sociohistorical and ecological context.

Boys receive specially created money as their reward and salary for studying and working. Known as florines the money is printed in different denominations and can be traded in at a discounted rate for Colombian pesos to be used outside of the institution. Boys receive their salary every fifteen days, the amount depending on the number of merit points granted during the period by instructors and the boys' own colleagues. An average two-week salary for a boy is between $200 and $300 florines. Of this amount the boy must pay $135 florines for his room and board, leaving the remainder to be used as he sees fit.

Boys may leave their centers in the evening or weekends and may leave the program completely whenever they desire. To reenter the program a boy must come through the patio as an outsider and again petition his entrance to the program. Financing for the program comes from national and international donations, the city of Bogota, the municipal lottery, and the telephone company of Bogota. The program is now attempting to reach at least partial self-financing by turning the attention of the boys toward producing salable products in the various

technical/vocational shops. One idea is to produce prefabricated homes for which a great demand exists in Bogota. Such a step will also assist boys in becoming skilled workers as they eventually desire to leave the program and enter the larger society (Bello Díaz 1973).

The other program for poor boys, this one in Quito, was begun ten years ago under the auspices of the Jesuit-founded Christ of the Andes Mission. Known as the Working Boy's Center (El Centro del Muchacho Trabajador) it was created by a North American priest. The center is concerned with shoeshine and other working boys from four-and-a-half to about twenty to twenty-one years of age. The center offers medical, dental, psychological, and legal services among others; a primary school and technical/vocational education program; recreation and sports programs; a library; and emergency live-in services. In order to become a member of the center boys must be single, pass a medical and dental examination, be enrolled in primary or some other level of schooling, and have their home visited by a representative of the center. Now housed in a new multistory building, the center secures its funds from donations made by Catholic parish churches in the United States as well as by international and national church agencies. Boys receive breakfast and dinner free at the center but must pay for lunch by making deposits in an obligatory savings account. Their savings account must be maintained until they have 5,000.00 sucres or about U.S. $200.00 which they can then use to purchase tools or to draw upon in other ways when they decide to leave the center.

Boys can be suspended or expelled from the center by not holding a job for which they earn money, for not saving a minimal amount in the center's bank, and for not following other rules of conduct set down by the center (El Centro del Muchacho Trabajador 1974). Only those suspended rather than expelled may reenter the center by complying with the rules and securing the permission of the director. On a weekly basis the obligatory savings plan demands that boys ten years of age and under save 20 sucres (U.S. $.80); eleven to fifteen years of age save 30 sucres (U.S. $1.20); and sixteen years of age and over, 50 sucres (U.S. $2.00).

According to the director of the center, some four thousand boys have entered and left without completing the program during the last ten years. These boys are considered failures. Only 12 boys during this same ten-year period have complied with the criteria and are viewed as having successfully completed the program. Currently there are approximately 150 boys at the center of whom some 20 live in the center's dormitories.

The program is highly centralized with the director retaining considerable flexibility in terms of decision making as to who has or has

not complied with the rules and regulations. Given the lack of success of the program, the director rightly feels that few of the boys entering the program are able to meet the high standards established by the center. Those who have left the institution, according to the director, harbor considerable hatred and distaste for him and the center. The director feels that this is as expected and is only a sign of the problems of poor boys for whom no one has ever had high expectations of appropriate behavior. For this reason he feels he must taunt and ridicule boys in order to challenge them to be men. A recent method used by the director for retaining more boys in the center is to indicate that if they leave he will keep all of the savings each has made thus far. One can note the two-sided implications of this approach from the following quotation taken from the director: "So far, it's clear that between the staff and the kids the whole operation is a genuine Christian love affair because each side cares enough to maintain battle stations: the staff to insist on what has to be done for the good of the kids; and the kids to defend their human rights to fake us out of all this rules and regulations drag" (Halligan 1972).

As can be seen from the descriptions of the Citadel for Children and the Working Boy's Center they have little in common except for implementing an education and social service program for poor boys and as indicated earlier, neither responds well to the education-work issue. Each program embodies a strategy, one highly decentralized and based on self-help through peer group processes and the other highly centralized and based on the dictates of a program director. Although the reader can decide for himself or herself, based on the descriptions provided above, which strategy is of preference, in terms of the self-report evidence gleaned by visiting with both directors there is little doubt that the Citadel program in Bogota is achieving considerably more success in its relationships with the boys.

DISCUSSION

It is perhaps worthwhile to ask whether the youth programs described here are characterized by the same pitfalls associated with nearly all of the education programs covered in this chapter. As in the educational programs for community action and community involvement, the basic assumption underlying the majority of the technical/vocation school efforts is that the transmission of information and skills is a sufficient condition for not only changing an individual's behavior but enabling him to secure employment or change his environment in some way. Even if the impact of some of the programs is sufficient to reach the first objective of changing behavior, it is doubtful that one can assume that

the later objective of employment or environmental change can be satisfied.

There are exceptions to these statements, however, and the programs described assist in making this point. In the SENAI model, for example, the apprenticeship program attempts to guarantee employment upon receipt of a diploma. In fact, the apprenticeship program has a built-in transition period from study to work which involves training at SENAI, on-the-job experience (often with a partial salary paid by the employing industry), and finally a full-time position upon graduation. The idea is similar to another Brazilian program, PIPMO, which also attempts to guarantee employment and, incidentally, often contracts SENAI to offer its courses.[2] Such an apprenticeship system effectively utilizes socioeconomic incentives to guide the individual into a particular position in a particular company.

The majority of the technical/vocational programs, however, can absorb only a relatively few individuals into such apprenticeship schemes. Thus the bulk of the participants are left with newfound skills but no opportunity to apply them. This apparently occurred in Colombia through SENA's "popular professional preparation" program where courses were offered on site in poorer areas of the cities of Medellin and Bogota. The assumption was a familiar one. It attributed unemployment and underemployment to the lack of skilled individuals and decided to develop a crash program to overcome such deficits. The result, according to a SENA representative in Bogota, was that whereas sixty thousand individuals received training, less than 6 percent were able to find jobs. Clearly, the problem was with the opportunity structure and the economy rather than with the lack of skilled labor.

This relationship between the product of the educational program and the application of skills and knowledge in the environment is often of little concern to the educator. In the Citadel of Children effort, the concern exists but at the present time, because of the early stage of the program and the meager financial resources available, any resolution remains problematic. What must occur, however, is a programmed

[2] PIPMO (Programa Intensivo de Preparação de Mão-de-Obra) also attempts to link education with employment. Created by presidential decree in 1963 to organize short intensive courses to meet emergency needs of industrial firms, by 1971 PIPMO had trained some 500,000 workers. The program is both urban and rural in scope and places emphasis on providing skills to unemployed youth and adults for the labor market. Although now under the Ministry of Education, PIPMO has had relatively little infrastructure as it contracts with existing institutions such as the National Apprenticeship Service (SENAI) to offer courses on site for specific and known job openings (Edfelt 1975; USAID 1972).

relationship between the world of work and the educational program. Although the strategy employed in the Citadel is profound in terms of self-help, peer group processes, the transfer of social organizational forms from the street to the program, and the use of internal money as positive reinforcement devices, the life inside the institution has emerged as one entirely distinct from that which will be encountered outside in the real world. Whereas the short-range objective is to shape behavior for purposes internal to the Citadel, the long-range goal must be to enable the individuals to assume positions as members of new social groupings outside. The question becomes one of generalizing the behaviors learned inside to the new behaviors on the outside. Perhaps the building of prefabricated homes, assuming that credit and marketing can be arranged, will satisfy the employment problem. Attempting to ensure social adjustment in the real world, however, will likely remain a problem until definitive steps are taken for its resolution.

Summary

This chapter begins by pointing to the elitist, centralized, and urban-based educational tradition that characterized Latin American education through the first two decades of the twentieth century. Although it is suggested that there were exceptions to this pattern before this period, one of the first government-inspired educational innovations to arise in the context of the extension of schooling into the community was the Mexican cultural missions program of the 1920s. The impact of this model as well as that of the Bolivian community school program initiated in 1931 and known as Huarizata is discussed and the point is made that these two programs formed the basis for much of Latin America's rural education efforts in later years. Other community schools emphasizing the involvement of community members along with school extension efforts such as CNEC and Fe y Alegria are mentioned, as are the APEFA and MEPES family school movements in Argentina and Brazil. Current efforts of nuclear schools and other nonformal education efforts by ministries of education in Latin America are then discussed. It is argued that whereas the alternatives employed by the ministries of education are indicative of an increased flexibility in terms of access to formal education, they remain dominated by criteria emanating from the formal school and often serve, as in the nuclear pattern, as administrative mechanisms for the coordination and supervision of smaller unitary schools. Some examples of community-based systems, like those of CNEC and MEPES in Brazil and APEFA

in Argentina, are the only models found where community participation in the operation of schools has actually been carried out in a programmatic way. There nevertheless remain problems of who actually makes decisions affecting the schools, how they are financed, whether the basis for their localized success rests with the philosophy of the schools or the characteristics of the population that supports them, and so on. In terms of the theoretical assumptions underlying the social change efforts through community schools it is concluded that there is almost exclusive reliance on a man-oriented approach through experiences designed to increase information and foster new attitudes and values.

The second section of the chapter concerns schools and educational efforts as centers for technical/vocational training. Although Latin America has a long history of such efforts, the best known and most innovative response is suggested to have been the Brazilian program known as SENAI which was initiated in 1942. The most recent efforts in Cuba are also mentioned as providing a set of responses to technical/vocational training needs. Two other programs, these in Colombia and Ecuador and outside of the more formal schooling context, are then discussed. Throughout the presentation, the major issue raised is the relationship between technical/vocational training and the opportunities extant to apply that training. It is suggested that SENAI's apprenticeship model is one answer to the dilemma; most other technical/vocational training programs suffer from the same inadequacy characteristic of formal schools, that is, a reliance on the delivery of information both to change behavior and to ensure that that behavior can be manifested in the real world. Although Cuba relies heavily on moral and social incentives in the motivation of youth to pursue such programs, the remainder of Latin America must rely on socioeconomic incentives in the form of jobs. Where such jobs do not exist, training programs must be articulated with the occupational structure, and where jobs do exist, a better match between the students of the programs and the opportunities must be sought. Clearly, in the long term the mere training of individuals may be in the best interest of nation building; in the short term, however, the problem of unemployment and its derivatives of frustration, crime, poor health, and so on will not be resolved without the education-work articulation.

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4.

Adult Literacy and Basic Education

Whereas the priority concerns of nonformal alternatives through schools are either community involvement and community action or technical/vocational training, nonformal education is typically carried out apart from schools and is directed toward youth and adults who either have not had access to schools or were poorly served by them. This chapter looks at one category of nonformal education efforts, aimed primarily at adults, through a discussion of literacy and basic education programs. Perhaps the most distinguishing features of these activities are their isolation from wider social change efforts and their inability to articulate the behavioral changes sought with the application of those behaviors for the enhancement of participant power and status. For discussion purposes I have chosen to separate these programs into those which concern literacy and fundamental education, those which employ radio as the medium of instruction, and those which are primarily of the consciousness raising and liberation type. The chapter that follows this one centers on a discussion of extension activities associated with agriculture, health, legal aid, cooperatives, and so on.

In terms of basic education, there have been numerous programs of adult education in Latin America involving all forms of media and organization. As early as the mid-1800s in Chile, for example, the government had initiated a program of instruction in army barracks, the Catholic Augustinian brothers had night schools for workers and craftsmen, and workers' organizations were offering instruction to their members (Ebaugh 1945). As these examples imply, most basic education programs appear to be primarily concerned with the transmission, rather than the application, of information and skills. Thus one can easily encounter, both in the literature and in operation, programs that

will train fishermen, miners, artists, musicians, agriculturalists, secretaries, technicians, and even telegraphers and detectives. Such programs can be found in, among other places, prisons, army barracks, industries, schools, community centers, hospitals, and cooperatives. The instructional techniques, also varied, have included face-to-face contact, various forms of media, programmed instruction, theater, music, and correspondence.[1] Very few programs, however, irrespective of the combination of objectives, methods, or locale, attempt to link education with technology or the socioeconomic environment, thereby enabling the participants to, for example, secure employment or increase their agricultural or commercial production.

Literacy and Fundamental Education

The issue of education and its relationship to the wider environment in the context of adult basic education has probably been the main issue of concern regarding the success of literacy programs as can be seen in a recent comment by Anibal Buitron, a UNESCO representative: "The fact that literacy campaigns and community development projects have been running year after year in practically every developing country without much apparent gain is, in my opinion, a clear sign of their failure. . . . The first and most important mistake we have made, and continue to make, is in my opinion, our belief that we can solve all the economic, social, cultural, and political problems through education alone" (1971:35).

Although accepting such a statement in the 1970s from a UNESCO representative is rather easy, it should be noted that it has taken a great deal of time and effort for UNESCO and others to reach such a conclusion. Because literacy has been used for some time as a major indicator of national development and because there still exists a strong belief that illiteracy is a major obstacle to achieving development goals, literacy programs have been common to all countries in Latin America. Although such efforts have a long history, the major impetus appears to have come in the 1940s when the average literacy rate in Latin America was only 25 percent (UNESCO 1947). The armed forces, ministries of education, municipal and state agencies, and many private organizations were carrying out literacy campaigns. The Summer Institute of Linguistics, for example, came to Peru in 1946 to begin its evangelistic programs through the creation of formerly unwritten Indian languages (Bebbington 1962). In Ecuador, the National League of

[1]See, for example, Mendoza Gutiérrez (1954) on the use of rural theater in education and Daniel Samper-Ortega (1939) on wider "cultural enrichment" programs.

Newspaper Writers began a literacy campaign in 1942 and the government subsequently passed a literacy law in 1944 (Wilson 1970). Similarly, Peru and Mexico began their first literacy campaigns in 1955 (Freeburger and Hauch 1964; Medary 1954). Basing its program on the Laubach method of each-one-teach-one, the Dominican Republic set the summers of 1942 and 1943 to be used, two hours daily, by schoolteachers to teach fifteen to twenty-five illiterates to read, write, and do arithmetic (Pan American Union 1942). Trinidad and Jamaica were also employing the Laubach method in the early 1940s (Howes 1955). Similarly, a program in Honduras during the mid-1940s was designed to have laymen and teachers each teach five persons during the year. Schoolteachers who participated were to receive preference for appointments during the next school year and the literacy teaching would count toward school promotions. When a student of one of the literacy campaign instructors could read and write, he or she was examined by one of seventeen national commissions and a certificate was awarded (Pan American Union 1946). Although little evidence exists to suggest how successful these efforts were, that which is available is not very supportive. A literacy program in Guatemala in 1945, for example, was designed to reduce illiteracy in "record time." A three-month experimental campaign was inaugurated in Guatemala City. As Ebaugh (1947) notes, the campaign left much to be desired: "About 3,000 illiterates were enrolled. At the close of the trial period about 300 remained and only a few (three, according to one estimate!) had learned to read and write" (p. 28). Foster (1962) reports similar results in Ecuador.

It was not until the late 1940s that literacy campaigns were incorporated into a broader program of education. Known as Fundamental Education, and initiated and spread throughout the world by UNESCO, it was supposedly concerned with the community as a whole and was to lead to social action. The methods were designed "to help people help themselves" (UNESCO 1949:12). Fundamental Education was aimed at those who had little or no formal education and was intended to provide communication as well as vocational and domestic skills. Objectives also included improving the health status and spiritual and moral development of participants. All educational agencies in a region were to collaborate in the program (UNESCO 1949).

Examples of programs that UNESCO presented in its initial publication of 1947 outlining Fundamental Education included rural teacher training colleges for "school mistresses" in Colombia, loudspeakers on the courthouses of town squares in Honduras and Guatemala, farm schools in Haiti, and cultural missions in Mexico. Thus, the rhetoric of Fundamental Education enabled the inclusion of every conceivable

education effort from literacy to community development. It was to be practical, progressive, popular, and universal basic education for the masses. As UNESCO put it: "It must be responsible for the whole progress of the whole country" (1947:149).

This Fundamental Education "campaign against ignorance" was the first such effort on a worldwide scale. It went beyond the literacy programs which were not having much, if any, impact and set the stage for the community action movements of the 1950s and 1960s. The requirements for Fundamental Education programs tend to support such a conclusion. These requirements included

> *first*, that Fundamental Education shall make itself thoroughly a part of the present life of those concerned—starting where they are, in their homes and fields and communities; *second*, that it shall not fail to stimulate them to the improvement of their own dwellings, their farms, their local government, and their resources for recreation and expression; *third*, that it shall raise their eyes to the wider horizons of modern life, in science, world relationships and art—but without imposing on them an impossible burden of detailed academic learning. [UNESCO 1947:222]

In an attempt to develop Fundamental Education models, UNESCO initiated a number of experimental programs. One of these was located in Haiti and became rather well known as the Marbiel project. The project was designed to demonstrate how "educational methods can be effectively used to raise the social and economic levels of an underdeveloped community" (UNESCO 1951:61). From the beginning in 1947, the Marbiel program encountered political and religious problems surrounding its choice of director as well as in its use of Creole rather than French as the language of instruction in school. The school was used as a community center where children and adults were instructed in crafts, reading, writing, mathematics, and hygiene (Wilson 1950). There was also a school canteen, a local community newspaper, and a small health clinic. By 1950 the program had a new director who was constructing additional buildings, including a dormitory and a clinic, and was implementing a consumer/producer cooperative (Marshall 1950).

The problems encountered at Marbiel went beyond the choice of a project director and a language of instruction. They also included the characteristics of the natural environment which, although once fertile, by 1947 was being ruined by deforestation and erosion as a result of expanding population pressures. In addition, some 97 percent of the thirty thousand inhabitants were illiterate and barely able to subsist from the land (Marshall 1950). Clearly, what should have been learned from Marbiel was the complete impotence of an educational program

in the presence of such formidable obstacles. Such problems, however, did not detract from the initiation of many other fundamental education programs in either the Caribbean (Howes 1955) or other parts of Latin America (Abadie Sorians 1953; Behrman 1954).

Another effort of UNESCO in Fundamental Education was the establishment of CREFAL, the Regional Training and Production Centre for Latin America, aimed at training teams of Fundamental Education workers for Latin America as well as the production of educational materials suited to specific educational needs (UNESCO 1952). Begun in 1951 with the assistance of the Mexican government and the OAS, CREFAL was the first of six centers established in major world regions. The idea was to bring individuals to the centers from various countries, train them, and then send them back to initiate Fundamental Education programs. Michaels (1956) reported that in Latin America several individuals appeared to have achieved positions of some responsibility upon return to their own countries. Schick (1961) also found that the first ten individuals to return to Nicaragua following their CREFAL training had initiated a pilot project in Fundamental Education through which schools were built, health and literacy campaigns initiated, local libraries begun, and agricultural techniques improved.

In 1957, ten years after initiation of Fundamental Education and the tenth year of UNESCO's life, community development had become more visible in practice and as a concept and UNESCO began to move away from education programs per se and toward a more comprehensive approach to social action. In an unsigned editorial in the *Fundamental and Adult Education* journal of April 1957, this evolution can be seen: "It is within this progressive pattern that fundamental education must take its place, not as a self-sufficient programme of adult literacy teaching and informal education, but as one of a range of integrated services, contributing to the common purposes of social and economic progress" (UNESCO 1957:51).

By 1965 Fundamental Education had been forgotten by many and was certainly no longer in vogue. Instead, at the World Congress of Ministers of Education in Teheran in 1965, meeting on the eradication of illiteracy, discussion centered on the concept of functional literacy. It was not until this meeting that literacy and socioeconomic development were accepted at the international level as being related (UNESCO 1970). Thus the new approach would place literacy and vocational training together for achieving development goals. Through linking literacy with more applied objectives, UNESCO initiated another series of experimental programs. By March 1972, however, at the Latin American Seminar on Adult

Education held in Havana, participants concluded that adult and literacy education still remained peripheral and discontinuous and were not merging with the participant's world of work, leisure, and civic pursuits. Although functional literacy or functional education is still with us, UNESCO has broadened the concept of adult education to what it now refers to as lifelong education. This extension of functional education provides no new strategical thrusts in the context of adult education but it does have implications for nonformal education. It refers, for example, to expanding the access to education for those who have had no schooling and it means "devising new structures that will do away with the frontiers separating formal education from informal education. It means recognizing the need for a lifelong education that will teach people how to learn and make it possible for them to supplement and renew their store of knowledge throughout the course of their lives" (UNESCO 1972:5).

This brief review of UNESCO's effort in literacy and basic education points to many of the difficulties encountered when reliance is placed primarily on educational efforts in social change. Although the concepts of fundamental education, functional literacy, and lifelong education appear appropriate, the application of the concepts and their accompanying principles leaves a great deal to be desired. The problem, perhaps, is that these programs use education as an end rather than as a means. As UNESCO's rhetoric suggests, education should be a process linking man with his environment. It must be recognized that education, however, cannot provide the objectives or the incentives; these must come from the wider environment. As John Oxenham recently stated:

> From the history of traditional literacy programs and from the somewhat better record of the functional literacy efforts, it is evident that literacy instruction is simply not viable on its own—except for the few who know exactly and urgently what they want the skills for. Literacy, to be certain of acceptable success, must always be a part of a package. This is tantamount to saying that the other components of a package are necessary to the literacy. It does not say, however, that literacy is necessary to the success of the other components. [1975:8].

The importance of these wider conditions can be seen in the only successful large-scale literacy project in Latin America. The case, of course, is Cuba. Following Fidel Castro's assumption of power in 1959, one of the immediate concerns was the use of education as a force for the creation of a new socialist man. The period 1959–1962 was devoted to mass education and 1961 was the Year of Education. The immediate intent in 1961 was to eliminate illiteracy on the island. To this end Castro was able to mobilize more than 250,000 "teachers" for eight

months and reduce illiteracy from 21 percent to 3.9 percent. Some three million booklets entitled *Venceremos*, based upon the campesino's vocabulary and interests, were published and distributed (Jolly 1964). The campaign began by registering the 985,000 illiterates on the island. The literacy instructors, or Army of Education, were organized into four groups. The first was the Conrado Benítez Brigadistas who were students, recruited from secondary schools and assigned to rural areas. These individuals went to mountain areas in units of twenty-five or fifty and were supervised by a campesino. Each received a uniform, hammock, blanket, teaching manual, lamp, Cuban flag, an arm badge, instruction books, and two cloth pictures of the revolutionary martyrs Conrado Benítez and Camilo Cienfuegos (Jolly 1964). The second group was the Alfabetizadores Populares or Popular Alphabetizers who were volunteer adults teaching part time in urban areas. The third group was the Brigadistas Obreros "Patria o Muerte" or the "Fatherland or Death" Worker Brigadistas who were urban workers replaced on their jobs by fellow workers and sent to teach in rural areas. The final group of "foot soldiers" were the Maestros y Profesores Brigadistas or school teachers who occupied primarily technical and organizational positions during the campaign (Fagen 1964). The literacy test used involved the reading of one or two paragraphs from *Venceremos*, the taking of simple dictation, and the writing of a letter to Fidel Castro (Jolly 1964).

The literacy program would have to be judged as a great success and certainly unmatched in Latin America. The question is why did it work so well? I believe the major reason rests with the Revolution itself. There was certainly a great fervor present in Cuba to create, as Fagen (1964) suggests, a new political culture which was directed not only to the development of the new socialist man but to independence and disassociation from United States imperialism. In addition to the political climate, however, there were other reasons for the campaign's success. These include the relative ease of travel and communication on the island, the existence of only one language, the density of the population, the limited goal of literacy equivalence to only the first-grade level, the horizontal relationship created by the use of lay instructors, and the use of radio and television in announcing and fomenting the campaign (UNESCO 1965). Another reason perhaps rests with the nature of the instructional materials which were not based on the formerly popular Laubach method but instead on a psychosocial approach using the vocabulary and interests of rural dwellers. Finally, Cuba was relatively well developed at the time of the Revolution and illiteracy could have been expected to go down on its own momentum. None of these reasons

are meant to detract from the success of the campaign. Instead, they provide some comparative basis to explain, first, why literacy campaigns have not functioned well elsewhere in Latin America and, second, why the Cuban experience is not a generalizable model to other Latin American countries. Above all, the efficacy of the literacy program in Cuba demonstrates the importance of the fit between an educational program and a government's rhetoric and emphases. In the case of Cuba, there existed a perfect match.

Perhaps the most recent literacy program on a relatively large scale in Latin America has been the MOBRAL (Fundação Movimento Brasileiro de Alfabetizaçao) literacy campaign in Brazil. Initiated in 1967 through a presidential decree, it derives financial support from a sports lottery, from investments by firms which thus gain an income tax deduction, and from local community contributions. The MOBRAL instructional strategy is a traditional one in Latin America. Individuals must attend courses on a Monday-through-Friday basis for five months and the program distributes some two million newspapers biweekly to provide continuous reading experiences for its students. The program is decentralized to the municipal level where more than 86 percent of Brazil's 3,952 municipalities were giving MOBRAL courses in 1971. In recent years MOBRAL has encouraged its municipal commissions to attempt to link its graduates with job-training courses offered by technical/vocational schools and programs. There also exists a one-year intensive primary school equivalency course for MOBRAL graduates (USAID 1972; UNESCO 1974).

Ahmed (1975) reports his impressions of one MOBRAL program carried out in the northeastern state of Pernambuco. In 1972 about 125,000 individuals, or 5 percent of the target age group of fifteen to thirty-five years of age, were participating in the primarily urban program. Literacy classes were organized by the municipality or other local organization and the teaching content was standardized nationwide. Teachers were paid in accord with the number of students enrolled. Ahmed comments on this MOBRAL effort:

> While MOBRAL has launched a national campaign, built up a nationwide organizational structure, and has substantial resources at its disposal, evidence regarding the program's achievements—the number of illiterates or semiliterates that have achieved mastery of usable literacy, the extent to which these have been put—has not yet been available. The greatest problem area seems to be the development of a concept and a strategy for the ways that literacy skills taught through standard contents and methods to a target population covering a large segment of adult illiterates can be put to effective use and can be of help to the poverty-ridden rural population in the state of Pernambuco. [Pp. 93-94]

ADULT EDUCATION AND RADIO SCHOOLS

One of the most recent and fastest growing efforts in adult basic education and literacy programs is the use of radio as a means of transmitting information and skills. Whereas other media like television and video cassettes have received considerable discussion in terms of nonformal or out-of-school education, currently only radio offers a sufficiently inexpensive and viable alternative to the exclusive use of audiovisual aids and the print media. Among the reasons for not using television and videotape are the availability and cost of electricity and production facilities and the relative scarcity of television receivers. In addition, although television can potentially augment the quality of the instructional program, current research evidence indicates that the use of radio with organized listening groups is more effective and less expensive than the use of television (McAnany 1975; Rogers and Danziger 1975).

The first radio schools, or radio broadcasts directed to listening groups, in Latin America began in Colombia in 1947. The program was initiated by a Catholic priest, Father José Joaquim Salcedo, in the town of Sutatenza, and at the beginning employed only an 80-watt transmitter and three battery radio sets. By May 1955 one author rather optimistically reported that some 19,602 local assistants or monitors had volunteered their services and had organized 18,160 radiophonic schools with 490,552 pupils (Ozaeta 1960). The program, known as Acción Cultural Popular (ACPO), was also publishing 300,000 copies of a specially printed reader for adult students. In 1960 the program had five transmitters and was broadcasting four times a day. The contents included reading, writing, arithmetic, religious and moral instruction, and agriculture, livestock, and health information. The 42,174 radio receivers in use by 1958 had only one station, ensuring a longer battery life and reducing the listener's temptation to turn to another station (Ozaeta 1960). The program in 1968 had 22,212 listening centers with 167,451 registered students and continued to train monitors, to broadcast programs, and to publish its newspaper as well as topical books related to campesino family life (McAnany 1975).

Radio Sutatenza of Acción Cultural Popular was the first large-scale radio school in Latin America and it has shaped nearly all of the more than twenty-three similar radio school programs (Escuelas Latino Americanas Radiofónicas) throughout Latin America (McAnany 1975). One of these projects, known as Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña (ACPH), was initiated in Honduras in 1960. By 1962 the program had 343 listening centers and 7,520 students (Lyle, Martins, and Torfs 1967).

According to Robert White (1972), who studied the Honduran program, it is different from Sutatenza in that it has gone beyond basic skills and seeks to promote social change. The same basic system of monitors or assistant teachers is used to organize radio listening groups or radio schools in rural neighborhoods. Until 1968 the same program tapes of Sutatenza were used in the Honduran effort. After that year, however, the orientation moved toward encouraging campesinos to take a more active role in solving problems through voluntary and cooperative participatory community action. The monitors were to act as community development agents; therefore, they received training in agricultural assistance, leadership, community development, and cooperatives. By 1968 the radio schools in each community formed part of a network including a housewives' club, a community development committee, perhaps a consumer or producer cooperative, and a credit cooperative.

Rural animation techniques were introduced in 1968 in order to encourage campesinos to discuss their problems and to arrive at alternative solutions on their own. This collective decision-making strategy was aimed at building strong community organizations at the local level which would apply pressure to secure a share in the nation's resources. The intent is to do so, however, without becoming entangled in party politics. The program also introduced consciousness-raising strategies based on the work of Paulo Freire. As White remarks, "The over-all goal is to lay the motivational foundations for a gradual growing movement among campesinos to change, more or less within the present decision-making framework, the social structures of the country" (1972:48).

Although White notes that the program's goals are primarily motivational and is complimentary to its efforts, he finds that the impact on literacy is minimal. He explains this lack of impact in terms of the unimportance of literacy in the life of the campesino. The campesino simply does not need to be literate given the normal daily activities in which he is engaged. On the radio school itself, White offers the following comments:

> The limitations of the radio school seem to stem in great part from the emphasis on voluntarism, the attitude that if the individual *tries* to change himself and his environment, he can do so. This activism is directed against the traditional fatalism of the campesino. But there also has to be support in the environment, that is, from many different agencies which provide resources with which the increased motivation can work and accompany structural changes. The campesino cannot do it all by himself no matter how hard he tries, and to lead him to think he can is too frustrating. For example, many campesinos have learned to read and write, but they have nothing to read; they have learned a bit about agriculture, but they have not been able to put any of it into practice; something

has been learned about health and homemaking, but as one woman said, "They have suggested that we make room divisions out of cloth when we don't have cloth for clothes." [1972:131–32]

The Honduran radio school program has apparently taken this and other evaluations and attempted to overcome some of its earlier limitations. ACPH, for example, now coordinates its efforts with six other private social promotion agencies in Honduras through CONCORDE, or the Coordinating Council for Development, which is described in chapter 6. Within this coordinated effort ACPH is emphasizing agricultural education for small farmers (Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña 1973), adult basic education, and community education (Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña 1974).

Other examples of radio schools begun on the Sutatenza model exist in Ecuador, Argentina, and Bolivia. Three radio schools exist in Ecuador, for example, and like the others mentioned, they were originated under the auspices of the Catholic Church. The oldest of the programs, the Popular Radio Schools of Riobamba, was initiated in 1962. Alain Dubly (1974) surveyed the three Ecuadorian programs and found that approximately one-half of the broadcast time was used for music, while the remainder had educational classes and dialogue. Religious broadcasts and recreation constituted a very small part of the programming. Dubly concludes his study by pointing to the obstacles encountered in attempting to use radio schools as mechanisms for teaching literacy. He suggests that such schools are limited in their effectiveness because they have difficulty motivating participants, little opportunity exists for campesinos to apply what they have learned, the process of becoming literate demands considerable time and effort after the campesino has put in a full day of work, and the early enthusiasm for participation wanes for lack of material and ideological incentives.

Perhaps the most recent radio school program in Latin America is the Instituto de Cultura Popular (INCUPO) located at Reconquista in Northern Argentina and initiated in 1971. Again the program is based on the Sutatenza model. INCUPO is a private, nonprofit institution dedicated to the integral education of rural adults and the creation of community structures through the use of radio. The program does its production in its own studios but because of a lack of financial resources must purchase broadcast time from commercial stations. INCUPO is primarily a literacy program adopting a psychosocial method of instruction based on the influence of Paulo Freire. Although INCUPO is moving toward more integrated education efforts, it is constrained from pursuing substantive social issues by the current political climate in

Argentina. Thus for the 650,000 illiterates over eighteen years of age in Northern Argentina, INCUPO provides radio instruction five days a week in the evening for a five-month course. Reception centers are organized around volunteer monitors, and work books are supplied by INCUPO. On weekends INCUPO transmits special cultural-type programs mixed with other issues such as health, community action, and nationalism (Instituto de Cultura Popular 1975).

The final example of radio schools in Latin America, this one in Bolivia, differs somewhat from the others mentioned in that it is highly critical of its predecessor, radio Sutatenza. The Bolivian program is known as INDICEP, or the Institute of Cultural Investigation for Popular Education. Although originally based on the Sutatenza model, it later adopted the Freire psychosocial method and is now intent on liberating the "oppressed" peasant from, rather than indoctrinating the "marginal" peasant with, the consumer-oriented values of the United States. The attack on Sutatenza is based on what INDICEP claims is the Colombian program's adoption of a banking approach to education which has supported the status quo and kept campesinos oppressed. The INDICEP approach is based instead on what it terms "Cultural Dynamism" or a program designed to strengthen indigenous cultures through the use of indigenous languages leading to liberation and to what representatives term a true cultural revolution (INDICEP 1971; Albo 1973).

I shall refer again to the use of radio and radio schools later, but this brief overview of such programs in Latin America suggests that most such schools have simply taken mechanisms employed in the more traditional face-to-face literacy campaigns and multiplied them via radio. The same dependence on education to alter the campesino's behavior is evident and the same assumptions about literacy as an obstacle to achieving development goals are present. As pointed out in chapter 2, the effectiveness of the communication process depends to a considerable extent on (1) prior knowledge of the local culture, thereby enabling the program to address the needs and perceptions of individual members of the audience; and (2) the interaction of programmer and recipients in a transactional rather than a one-way communication process. Whereas the radio schools are designed to integrate these principles into their activity, primarily through on-site monitors, their coverage is often too large to enable the generation of sufficient knowledge of local culture, and their feedback process is such that many times the participant reactions are not used formatively to reassess the nature and process of information transmitted via the radio. As implied

in the following quotation from Hornik, Mayo, and McAnany, the use of radio per se in rural education is not the panacea that many have assumed.

> Most of these projects operated on the fallacious notion that messages conveyed by the mass media would automatically have a direct and powerful impact on rural audiences. Such optimism was unfounded, and in retrospect it seems clear that the early concentration on the new technology was at the expense of content development and a proper regard for programme utilization techniques. To the planners' dismay, early experiences with the mass media in rural education revealed that rural people preferred popular music to new agricultural programmes and soap operas to health information. It was discovered that simply reaching rural audiences with information was not in itself a sufficient means to foster social change. [1973:72].

Liberation and Consciousness Raising

As indicated in previous chapters, the liberation response to dependency explanations of underdevelopment generally falls within the concerns of basic education for adults and is referred to here as consciousness raising. Garcia Huidobro (1972) puts the relationship this way: "The problem of Latin American liberation is, first of all, a political-structural one, and then, one of an educational nature. But it is necessary to acknowledge that liberation requires education. Conscientization remains as the first goal of any education that wants to cooperate with the process of liberation" (p. 74).[2]

The impetus for consciousness raising or conscientización arose in the early 1960s in Brazil. Although we correctly associate consciousness raising with Paulo Freire, the sociopolitical climate in Brazil, especially in the Northeast, prior to the overthrow of the government in 1964 was apparently nurturing other radical efforts. Thus before turning to a discussion of Freire and his method I would like to direct some attention to several programs sponsored by these so-called radical organizations. In the early 1960s, for example, there was a program known as the Movimento de Cultura Popular or the Popular Culture Movement which was sponsored by Catholic radicals, most of whom were university students. The popular culture program used plays, films, leaflets, and other mechanisms to direct attention to the people's own problems while raising sociopolitical issues. Content, for example, was directed toward liberation and against imperialism. It included both consciousness raising and a praxis, or action, dimension. Apparently the program became infiltrated with Marxists, however, and the Catholic radicals

[2]For a similar view on education for liberation see Martin (1971).

rejected the pressures to make the program more political in orientation rather than open and focused on the development of a critical awareness (DeKadt 1970).

Another program in Brazil during this period was the Movimento de Educação de Base (MEB) or the Basic Education Movement. Its origins apparently date back to 1958 and to a meeting of representatives of Catholic-sponsored radio schools whose programs were originally based on the Sutatenza model. The Brazilian government along with the Brazilian Bishops Conference (CNBB) combined to initiate a nationwide radio school effort in 1961. By 1963 there were some fifty-nine radio school systems in operation with seven thousand radio schools. The program used volunteer monitors to coordinate listening groups and, as the emphasis in the program began to include community action, to act as change agents in terms of community development. In 1962 the MEB program began to be radicalized into the consciousness-raising movement and by 1963 into the Popular Culture Movement. Also in this period, MEB began to employ popular animation (*animação popular*) as a technique in its program. This involved group decision making, community self-help, and "nondirectiveness" and was apparently based in part on the interest in group dynamics in the United States (DeKadt 1970).

Under the MEB radio school and community development activities, the Catholic radical movement evolved to be less interested in education per se and more interested in the social structure which perpetuated the marginal peasant's plight. At times this orientation apparently resulted in confrontations with landowners and the wider political and economic structure as well as with the cultural ties which bound the peasant to the local patron for mutual benefit. When the government was ousted by military force in 1964, the radical impetus in MEB and other movements was eliminated. There were 2,500 MEB radio schools in 1967 or less than one-half of the number existing in 1963 (DeKadt 1970). By 1970 there were only 1,255 such schools (Oliveira 1971). MEB continues to function under the Conference of Bishops as a radio school program in community development and adult basic education similar to other Sutatenza-type programs mentioned in the previous discussion (USAID 1972).

Paulo Freire was part of the Popular Culture Movement in Recife in 1961 and while at the University of Recife he directed the University's first Cultural Extension Service. He was a lawyer turned philosopher-educator who had studied sociolinguistics. He spent several years perfecting his method through various educational experiences and began to implement the now-famous method in 1961. By the time of the

government change in 1964 he and his followers had prepared a large number of program coordinators, and plans were made to initiate twenty thousand "cultural circles" in 1964. Under the postcoup military government, however, he was arrested, labeled a subversive, and told that his method was similar to that used by Stalin, Hitler, Peron, and Mussolini. Some time after his seventy days in jail under the new government he went into exile in Chile where he began to write about the method and to work in the National Department of Adult Education with Christian Democrats (Asociación de Publicaciones Educativas 1974; DeKadt 1970).

Whereas some suggest that Freire's method of consciousness raising through dialogue inevitably leads to political participation and the formation of community organizations and labor unions ("Paulo Freire" 1970), others indicate that he was not out to incite revolt but instead rejected mass education which imposes silence and passivity, stifles criticism, and makes man an object rather than a subject of reality (DeKadt 1970). Briefly, his thesis includes the following principles: education cannot be neutral; education involves self-reflection and critical thought about man and society; personal development depends on one's relationships with other beings and objects; learning cannot occur unless it is accompanied by praxis or a testing out of the new knowledge; and the world that man chooses to live in is for the most part created by himself (McGinn 1973; Freire 1970*a*, 1970*b*). Freire's method begins with common words and pictorially represented situations from the immediate life of the participants. In this way literacy training is accompanied by consciousness raising. Through cultural circles under the leadership of coordinators, individuals carry on a dialogue about their environment as it is and as it could be. As Freire puts it to coordinators:

> It is almost certain that the group, faced with a situation, will start by describing it in terms of its own existential experience, which may or may not be that of the coordinator. Your role is to seek, with the group, to deepen the analysis until the situation presented, studied as a problem, is *criticized*. . . . This critical posture, which should be adopted by you and by the group, will overcome a naive consciousness, which loses itself on the periphery of problems as you are convinced that you have arrived at their essence. [1971:62]

Through this format Freire attempts to avoid the traditional banking approach to education with teachers knowing and teaching everything and students being taught because they know nothing. Instead, he seeks a liberating or awareness-raising process in which discovery through dialogue is realized (Bosco Pinto n.d.). The coordinator cannot prescribe

his own options to others as that is manipulation and leads to the dehumanization of man. Furthermore, the coordinator must seek praxis or the action and reflection of himself as well as others. The result is an individual who is a subject not an object of transformation, a person who is aware of reality and thus has demythologized the world, and an individual who opts for change and wants to transform the social structure (Freire n.d.).

Research on the application of the Freire method is extremely scarce. The movement was halted too early in Brazil to be studied and there is little evidence from other experiences, including that of Chile, to know its effects. I could find only one article, based on a 1972 study of three programs in Bolivia, Guatemala, and Honduras, that attempted to empirically assess learner outcomes (Chain 1974). Through the use of paper and pencil instruments, the investigator found that approximately 40 percent of students who had participated in the courses could correctly answer reading, writing, and arithmetic skills tests. Furthermore, through interviews, Chain found that neither teachers nor learners in any of the projects had achieved a level of critical consciousness that enabled them either to see themselves as subjects rather than as objects of action or to become persons creating their own destinies. Irrespective of the empirical evidence available, however, there is little doubt that the consciousness-raising concept has met with widespread acceptance throughout Latin America and in other countries of the world. I sense that at first conscientización was feared in many countries as a revolutionary, almost hypnotic, method which would turn peasants into raving revolutionaries. Its adoption today by many ministries of education in Latin America, with the obvious exception of Brazil, as well as by international agencies is evidence, however, of its widespread acceptance. Whether the application of the conscientización concept adheres to Freire's original intent though is questionable. Likewise, the open-ended nature of the Freire method makes one focus on the importance of the coordinator in the process. Can he avoid manipulation? When Freire says a dialogue must arrive at the "essence" of a problem does it mean that the coordinator must ask questions like "Who owns the land and why does he own it?" In other words, will the dialogue inevitably lead to social structural issues? I believe it should and probably does—but is this the intent of the process? The result of the dialogue has also caused me to ponder its potential impact. Is it not possible, as the earlier quotation from White in his evaluation of the Honduran radio schools suggests, that the outcome is likely to be peasant frustration rather than peasant action? Clearly, the participants have not acquired

skills with which to improve their health status or their income, and they are not apprised of how to organize themselves for action or where to go to seek their share of social services.

Nevertheless, the method has probably been the most widely diffused and accepted nonformal education innovation in Latin America in the last ten years. I believe that its adoption is explained primarily by the search for tools and techniques to match the frustration which Latin Americans feel as a result of both the social structural constraints in Latin America and their dependency on international economic and political forces. It is an investment of sorts in a new socialist future based on collective humanism rather than on individual competition, consumerism, and capitalism.

As can be seen in the prior discussion, much of the impetus for a liberating education movement came from the Catholic radicals in Brazil. Following the military coup there and the demise of such programs, the focus for liberating education shifted to the region as a whole but remained a concern of certain Catholic and Catholic-inspired organizations. In Medellin at the First and Second General Conferences of Bishops in Latin America in 1968 and 1969, for example, education for liberation received considerable support. Much of the Freire rhetoric of consciousness raising was adopted by the bishops as the Church took a position in favor of searching for a new type of Latin American society and a new educational process. The goal was to create individuals who were subjects of their own development, who were conscious of their dignity, who were self-determining, and who had a sense of community (de Lora 1974). The results of Medellin were viewed by many as a first step by the predominantly conservative Catholic leaders to move away from perceiving the school, and education in general, as important lines of defense for protecting the Church. The conferences, therefore, placed the Church in a leadership position and enabled many Catholic educators to legitimately move toward education for liberation.

Three organizations, the Episcopal Conference of Latin America (CELAM), the Latin American Confederation of the Religious (CLAR), and the Inter-American Confederation of Catholic Educators (CIEC) began to collaborate in 1970 to develop both philosophical and programmatic responses to the liberating charge of Medellin. Through numerous conferences and publications, including the journal *Educación Hoy*, these organizations began to develop several major themes within the dependency-liberation framework. The work has proceeded with considerable frustration at times as the educational representatives of these organizations, especially CELAM and CLAR, have not always received the needed ideological support of their parent bodies. Nevertheless,

there exist at least two program thrusts which have been derived from these coordinated efforts. The first is *comunidad educativa* or community education, and the second is *lenguaje total* or the total language approach to education.

The community education thrust is similar to some of the efforts discussed in the last chapter, especially APEFA, with the exception that the ideological bias here is dependency-liberation. The Catholic-inspired program is based on the notion that the community is where true education takes place and that all education must be geared toward the development of a critical consciousness. Involving the school in the community and vice versa is also viewed as one mechanism for improving the individual and the community by combining work and education. The overall goal, however, is democratization to avoid privilege and the establishment of just and equitable social structures in Latin America (Asociación de Publicaciones Educativas 1973).

The second Catholic-inspired program is *lenguaje total* or the total language approach to education. It too reflects the consciousness-raising concepts of Paulo Freire but was apparently developed independently by the French educator Antoine Vallet in Southern France. Whereas the Freire method constructs a dialogue around common words and pictorial representations of the participant's reality followed by an action dimension, total language takes any object from various forms of media in order to build a dialogue and then uses creative expression, especially the media, as the action dimension. The total language approach is a humanistic response to the consumerism implied in the worldwide use of electronic communication. Its premise is that we must learn to interpret the media and its symbols for the benefit of the individual and the community. Thus the method does not involve the transmission of information. Instead it is based on the notion that everything that needs to be known is available in the wider environment and that through dialogue, criticism, and reflection we can learn to understand and decipher images, symbols, compositions, and meaning. The method is nondirective; there is no fixed curriculum, no schedule; and teachers act as resource people through horizontal rather than vertical relationships with participants (Gutiérrez Pérez 1974*a*).

The principles underlying the total language method include the liberation of man as a subject rather than an object of reality; collaboration, rather than competition, through dialogue; reflection and action enabling man to change the world; and man as a being in a constant state of creation. The methods are intended to destroy paternalism and rigid social stratification systems in society through nonviolent structural change. It is assumed that these changes will occur if man can demystify

the media and take critical and creative social action. As all human transformation is viewed as a result of dialogue, the process begins with group (parents, students, coordinators) interaction—including movement (dance, mime, rhythms), oral expression, and group dynamics. The process takes place around a *núcleo generador* or center of interest which has its origin in communication media (magazine, comic book, newspaper, record, radio, television, film, and so on). The images and symbols are analyzed and then participants use movement, a form of the arts, or mass communication to express the perceived meaning. Self-expression, for example, may begin with painting and later lead to photography and videotape (Gutiérrez Pérez 1974*a*).

Lenguaje total was brought to Latin America through Francisco Gutiérrez Pérez and Ramón Padilla, both of whom studied in France with Vallet in 1969–70. They adapted the principles for application in Latin America and began to offer courses in Quito and Lima. By 1972 courses were being offered in a half dozen Latin American countries, and program experiences were under way in several educational centers. There were also several conferences and seminars around the topic sponsored by CIEC and CELAM as well as by ILCE (Latin American Institute of Educational Communication) and UNESCO. The conclusions of these conferences and seminars assisted the total language effort. For example, at the first Seminar on Education and Social Communication Media, held in Mexico in 1971, agreement was reached that there was a need for Latin Americans to become critical and selective consumers of communication media rather than being at the mercy of dominant and external forces. Similarly in Lima in 1971, at the First Seminar on Methodology for a Liberating Pedagogy, it was concluded that the media should be used in a way which avoids pure consumption as instruments of alienation, oppression, and homogenization. A final example comes from Panama in 1971 at the Latin American Seminar on Didactics and Audiovisual Education where it was concluded that there was a need for a new pedagogy through which the learner could perceive, interpret, and decodify the information via the media (Gutiérrez Pérez 1974*a*).

Throughout the early 1970s total language continued to receive this kind of support. In 1972 UNESCO, for example, sponsored a roundtable discussion in Mexico City, where an agreement was signed between the Ministry of Education of Costa Rica and UNESCO to initiate an experimental program in two secondary schools in San Jose (Gutiérrez Pérez 1974*b*). Today the method is still being used in Costa Rica. In addition, the majority of other Latin American urban areas have at least one program, often in Catholic secondary schools, where the method is being

applied. Gutiérrez is currently in Costa Rica where he is associated with a new program in Pedagogía de Comunicación or Pedagogy of Communication, as total language is now referred to in Latin America. The new program in Costa Rica will apply the method to rural dwellers through the use of community-development promoters and videotape. It is intended that community meetings will be videotaped and subsequently used as "centers of interest" for analysis and discussion. The action dimension of the program will eventually lead campesinos to make their own films and videotapes as forms of self-expression.

Two other examples of the variations and applications of consciousness-raising themes in Latin America that are related conceptually to the early Brazilian experiences should be mentioned. These are rural animation and the use of specially designed instructional materials. The reader will recall that popular animation formed part of the early Brazilian Popular Culture Movement and appeared as rural animation in the Honduran radio schools program. Although I will concern myself with rural animation, both processes are similar and are based on group dynamics. Rural animation had its beginning in Senegal in 1964 and then was diffused to Madagascar, Niger, the Ivory Coast, and Camaroon. Variants of the process can be seen in many parts of Latin America. The assumptions underlying the approach specify that rural dwellers must be made aware of problems of development and of their consequences and that such problems must be stated by local people in their own language as members of a group. The method involves a group of three or four individuals known as the animation team. This team works with three or four animators, or rural campesinos, chosen by their referent community. These community representatives spend three or four days with the animation team discussing potential community problems and engaging in sociodramas, role playing, and so on. Once returned to the community the animators discuss similar issues with community groups and call on the animation team for appropriate assistance. The method is open ended and group oriented, and it seeks to promote participation in local communities (Ryckmans 1971).

A final example of an application of consciousness raising involves the use of instructional products in rural Ecuador. The project is supported by AID and the Ministry of Education and coordinated and administered in the country through the University of Massachusetts. Emphasis is placed on developing an awareness of one's reality, on self-worth, and on literacy and numeracy skills appropriate to the rural dweller's needs and interests. The process is materials based with the assistance of a village facilitator. Materials were designed in a way that sought to make them relevant to the villagers, inexpensive, easily

reproducible, highly motivating, self-explanatory, and self-generating in terms of further curricular development. The products include fluency games for numeracy and literacy, simulation and media-based materials for group awareness and problem solving, and expressive materials designed to promote self-expression both orally and pictorially. Materials are disseminated through institutions such as commercial agencies, the Church, and informal communication networks.

Perhaps the factor which has brought most attention to the Massachusetts program in Ecuador is the nature of the materials used to achieve the project's objectives. For numeracy and literacy skills, for example, use is made of dice and cards bearing letters or numbers, number and word bingo, mathematical roulette, and so on. For consciousness raising and reality awareness, activities include, for example, a game called hacienda which is based on monopoly and is used to simulate a rural village setting in which issues of land ownership and relations with local authorities are dealt with. Other awareness materials include *fotonovelas*, or magazines, which portray villagers dealing with the strife and struggle characterizing village life and cassette recorders which villagers use to record music and dialogue with the completed tapes edited for radio broadcasts. Finally, self-expression activities are constructed around drama, puppets, rubber stamps, and community newspapers. The rubber stamps have animals, buildings, and people on them and are used first to create a visual story and later, in literacy training, to associate with words (Evans 1975).[3]

DISCUSSION

If one steps back and looks at the evolution of adult basic education activities in Latin America, including literacy and fundamental education programs, radio schools, and consciousness raising, the most innovative developments which emerge are those surrounding consciousness raising. Even with these newer conceptual and methodological approaches, however, the strategies employed in all of these programs in terms of the social change goals sought are weak and inadequate given the life conditions of the participants. To me, a major characteristic of

[3]A recent evaluation of the Massachusetts program in Ecuador involving a pre-post-test design for assessing effects on reading, standard and functional writing, mathematics, and consciousness raising in fifteen communities found mixed results. The evaluators used the following four games: Hacienda, Syllable Cards, Syllable Dice, and Number Bingo. The effects of the games were found to be a function of a host of factors, principally the manner in which they were implemented by the facilitator and the nature of the group playing the game. See Laosa, Alkin, and White 1975.

such efforts is their diffusion from one sociopolitical and economic climate where a program might have had some success, as with literacy in Cuba and consciousness raising in Brazil, to distinct environments where the methods are applied but there do not exist the supportive sociopolitical or economic conditions. These adult education programs are classic examples of a man-oriented approach to change. Thus they generally do not relate to other components in the wider social system, they do not attend to socioeconomic incentives, and they do not teach productive skills or behavior that can necessarily transfer or apply to the participant's environment.

The leadership for many of these programs comes from the field of education where the bias is clearly on altering man's internal state. As with schools, the burden of applying what is learned is left with the learner rather than the facilitator. Thus, even if literacy skills are not needed or used by participants in their everyday life, it has been decided by the leadership that it is "good" to be literate. Similarly, with consciousness raising the implication is that participants should be aware of both their reality and of the social structure that keeps them marginal or oppressed. But one needs to ask why it is of value to learn about such inequalities. The answer apparently is that once apprised of reality the learners will do something about the injustices by either moving toward community action, having become frustrated because they now know that they are merely pawns in a larger struggle, or taking up arms and overthrowing those who hold power. None of this, of course, is made explicit as that would be manipulation. As far as I am concerned, however, participants were already manipulated—or at least directed—toward their new perspective on life. The problem remains that they cannot use that perspective to feed a family or nurture someone back to health.

This does not mean that I am opposed to adult basic education programs. It does mean, however, that I see little value in them when they are applied as the major element, or in many cases the sole element, in a social change strategy. I do not believe that such educational efforts should function at all unless a programmed link exists between the educational effort and the socioeconomic and political context. In effect, I believe that educators should stop perpetuating the myth that educational processes, whether they be directed or experiential, will be the key to changing society. Such a premise is simply not borne out by the facts. The truth is that there exists little evidence to show that the majority of the programs discussed here have had any significant impact in the intended directions. It would probably be safer to rely upon evolutionary, as opposed to planned change, processes if this were the only model of change available.

Summary

This chapter discusses those basic adult education programs in Latin America which are not generally associated with schools and are infrequently linked to wider social change efforts. Attention is drawn to three types of programs: literary and Fundamental Education programs, radio schools, and education for liberation and consciousness raising. Literacy programs in Latin America were generally without significant impact except for the Cuban case in the early 1960s, whose success is explained through ideological, socioeconomic, and methodological factors. The UNESCO Fundamental Education programs of the late 1940s and early 1950s are characterized as intending to create social change by being all things to all people but relying primarily on literacy and basic education in the presence of immense social, political, and economic obstacles. Radio schools in Latin America are also discussed and found to be overly reliant on the medium itself in attempting to overcome traditional methodological problems associated with face-to-face approaches to basic education. Finally, liberation and consciousness-raising programs are traced from the early 1960s and the Paulo Freire method in Brazil to more current efforts like pedagogy of communication.

Throughout the chapter the majority of these primarily educational programs are seen as classic examples of the man-oriented approach to social change. In effect, they perpetuate the myth that education is omnipotent when addressing socio-structural, economic, and political problems. It is suggested that this educational reductionism in terms of a social change strategy is without empirical substantiation and that such programs should not exist unless they are linked with other components in the social system. Such a position, it should be noted, does not imply a bias in favor of development or liberation goals but is stated instead to draw attention to the strategies employed in achieving intended outcomes.

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5.

Adult Basic Education in Content Areas: Extension and Community Organization Programs

Whereas the theme of chapter 4 is out-of-school adult basic education and literacy programs that are generally isolated from other social promotion activities and other components of the social system, this chapter addresses out-of-school adult education that is directed to content areas such as agriculture, health, and the promotion of community organizations. Although both basic education and literacy programs and basic education directed to content areas are similar in their reliance on education to promote social change and in their use of promoters or facilitators as the agents of change, those programs directed at content areas are generally administered through organizations associated with the content area rather than through education agencies per se. These agricultural, health, and cooperative organizations, therefore, establish their own educational programs in order to foster the adoption of new behaviors, technology, and values and attitudes among selected participants. Education, however, may not be the focus of the specialized agencies. Instead, these agencies are more likely to be interested in the general improvement of agricultural, health, or cooperative practices within which education, research, the application of technology, and so on all play a role. I begin by looking at what appears to be the predominant model for these specialized agencies' educational programs, that of agricultural extension, and then briefly discuss legal, trade union, and health education programs. I then discuss voluntary community organizations which often form the

institutional counterpart to the content-based education efforts. These include women's organizations, friendship groups, cooperatives, and community enterprises. Whereas one may hypothesize that these content-based programs are likely to be more intent on adopting holistic approaches to social change, only a few actually attempt to concern themselves with the wider social system from which the forces impinging on the behavior of participants are actually derived. Cooperatives and community enterprises, although examples of a necessary component in a holistic approach to social change, are likewise characterized by an inadequate attempt to overcome immense socioeconomic obstacles of which only a few receive concerted attention.

The Agricultural Extension Approach

In the narrow sense, extension education is aimed at the adult population and seeks, through agricultural support and farmer participation activities, to improve the farmer's production process and his yield. The broader model for extension education, however, is derived from the United States Cooperative Extension Service originated under the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. Among other purposes, the Extension Service was designed to foster the application of agricultural research findings, encourage problem solving through group action, improve family diets, assist the homemaker, organize rural youth, offer counseling on farm problems, and develop rural leadership capabilities (U.S. Department of Agriculture 1948). As Kelsey and Herne state, extension was to provide service while encouraging self-help. "Extension endeavors to make available to rural people the fruits of scientific knowledge, with a view to bringing about more satisfying family and community life. It does this by creating within the individual the urge to achieve this goal and by showing him the way to do so" (1949:389).

Within a year of the passage of legislation creating the Cooperative Extension Service, programs of agriculture extension, home life education, and 4-H clubs for youth were operating through the United States. One report indicates that by 1915 there were 4-H clubs in forty-seven states and by 1933 there were more than a million women and girls participating in the home demonstration program (Kelsey and Herne 1949).

The first extension programs in Latin America appeared during the period 1939–50. The majority were apparently begun in 1942 under the auspices of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, a United States government corporation designed to administer bilateral programs of

technical cooperation in health, agriculture, and education (Mosher 1957). These bilateral agreements were soon administered in Latin America through offices known as *servicios*; usually three separate offices existed in each participating country for the three social problem areas mentioned above. The Pan American Union also established the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences (IICA) in Turialba, Costa Rica, in 1942 (Glick 1957) and the Rockefeller Foundation, having been working in Latin America in the health field since 1913, began to support agricultural assistance activities in 1943 (Mosher 1957). The major reason that attention was directed to agriculture during this period, at least by the government of the United States, was, in the light of the world war, to augment the hemisphere's supply of, among other items, food and rubber (Halle 1948). This pragmatic rather than altruistic goal was intertwined with desires by the United States to improve its image with Latin American sympathizers of the German cause (Paddock and Paddock 1973). Many of these *servicio* relationships were continued after the war, however, and became part of the Truman Point Four Program and were thus precursors to the activities of the Agency for International Development. In the years 1942–47, twenty-five bilateral cooperative agreements in eighteen Latin American countries were established (Bingham 1953). There were programs in, among other countries, Paraguay, Haiti, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Costa Rica. As an example, the program in Costa Rica began in 1942 under the Institute of Inter-American Affairs. It was designed to increase agricultural production in order to send products to the Panama Canal and thereby support the war effort. In 1948, after the Institute had established several extension-type offices, the Ministry of Agriculture in Costa Rica signed an agreement with the United States Government to create the Servicio Técnico Interamericano de Cooperación Agrícola whose mission was to establish the extension service. By 1957 there were 254 agricultural youth organizations (4-S clubs) and a number of housewives' clubs. By 1962 there were 33 extension agencies in operation (Di Franco and Jones 1962). The program was also characterized by its use of rural schools as a network for community development and change (Loomis et al. 1953).

In the late 1940s and early 1950s other international agencies had initiated agricultural extension services in Latin America. For example, in 1952 there were some 5,300 religious missionaries from the United States in Latin America working through 175 U.S. agencies. About 75 percent were representatives of Protestant churches while the remainder were Catholic priests, brothers, and nuns. Although the majority of these individuals were teaching in formal schools, a substantial

number worked in health and agriculture programs as well (Maddox 1956). Among the other international agencies involved at this time were the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the American International Association (AIA). The latter was supported by private U.S. foundations, especially Rockefeller. One of the AIA-sponsored efforts was the Association of Credit and Rural Assistance (ACAR) in Brazil while another was the Council of Rural Well-being (CBR) in Venezuela. ACAR began working in the state of Minas Gerais in 1948 with the intent of assisting farmers to achieve better levels of living. The program centered on the use of technical assistance, supervised credit, and the distribution of seeds, insecticides, and fertilizers. Local extension offices were established, and, like other programs, ACAR used extension and home demonstration agents to carry out technical assistance activities and to provide equipment and loans (Mosher 1955). In 1956, ACAR became the Brazilian Association of Credit and Rural Assistance (ABCAR) under the Ministry of Agriculture and became the coordinating mechanism for the Brazilian rural extension system. By 1971, ABCAR had approximately fifteen hundred rural extension offices and a staff of five thousand working in agricultural research, credit programs, marketing, community development, health, literacy, teacher training, and technical/vocational training (USAID 1972). The AIA-supported Consejo de Bienestar Rural in Venezuela was also initiated in 1948. It is devoted to the improvement of agricultural production, the development of natural resources, home and family extension, and so on. By 1950 the program was serving 780 farmers and farm families (Wharton 1950). In recent years, the Consejo has been financed and administered by the Venezuelan government (República de Venezuela 1973).

By the early 1950s nearly all of the Latin American countries had some form of extension service. In Colombia, for example, a *servicio* was established in 1953 after several years of U.S. technical assistance. The intent was to initiate a model agricultural extension service (Ruiz Camacho 1965; Di Franco and Clifford 1962). In Mexico and the Dominican Republic, comprehensive agriculture education laws were passed in 1946 (Pan American Union 1947).

Similarly, Bolivia began an agricultural assistance program in 1947 with U.S. support and by 1952 had fifteen extension agents and two home demonstration agents. Rural youth were organized into a 4-H-type program in 1949 and ten years later there were 451 clubs with 7,283 members involving 617 adult volunteers. By 1960, apparently because of internal management problems, the United States assumed responsibility for the entire Bolivian rural extension program. In 1974 the AID

mission in Bolivia (USAID 1974) reported that, primarily due to a lack of financial resources, the rural youth program was no longer functioning and that rural extension agents were not well integrated into the other rural programs involving credit, education, agricultural research, and so on.

This brief review demonstrates that during the last thirty-five years in Latin America the pattern of agricultural assistance has been very similar: the importation of U.S. or other outside experts, the subsequent initiation of extension services and technical assistance, and the formation of clubs for youth and housewives. All of these agricultural assistance programs emphasize education through a combination of formal meetings of campesinos with extension agents, classes and demonstrations, and specially prepared instructional pamphlets.[1] Only a few have adopted other forms of media in an attempt to reach rural audiences.

One of these media-based programs is the Educación Básica Rural (EBR) or Basic Village Education project in Guatemala. EBR is an experimental nonformal education program for campesinos in agriculture begun with AID and Guatemalan Ministry of Education support in 1974. The program is intended to determine the effectiveness and the relative costs of different combinations of communication media in promoting change in agricultural practices and production among small illiterate farmers. The target audience, along with similar control populations, includes ladinos in the southeastern part of the country and Quiché-speaking Indians in the western highlands. The communication systems being tested vary according to the amount of interpersonal contact with the farmers. The treatments include the use of radio alone, radio with a trained and paid monitor working with listening groups or radio forums, and radio, monitor, and forums in conjunction with an agricultural extension agent or agronomist who reinforces prior messages through demonstration and specific agricultural assistance.

[1] One of the best known comprehensive programs of rural education in Latin America is the Institute of Rural Education in Chile. Begun in 1954 under the auspices of the Catholic Church and subsequently supported through international and national funding sources like UNESCO and the ILO (International Labor Organization 1964; Platt 1966; Instituto de Educación Rural 1974), the institute is likely to be one of the oldest continuous programs in Latin America. Although the activities of the institute include technical/vocational instruction, community development, and leadership training of rural campesinos, the social change strategy followed apparently rests on the assumption that through such interventions the campesinos will be able and willing to behave differently in their own environments. Whereas such an assumption may be warranted in the case of the institute's programs, the experience of others suggests that a strong link between education and wider socioeconomic incentives is needed.

Extensive prior research was carried out in order to select the appropriate areas for the experimental programs and to assess the demographic and sociocultural characteristics of the target population. These data are used as base line information from which to compare potential cognitive, affective, and behavioral changes. In addition to the base line study, examples of other preparatory activities include the erection of two radio transmitting stations, the training of radio forum monitors, and the preparation of audiovisual materials.

The principal source of the EBR program messages is the Ministry of Agriculture. These messages are transmitted in accord with the agricultural cycle in each locale and are produced in draft form subject to the approval of instructional product development and agricultural specialists. The emphasis is on information which has practical technological and economic implications for the farmer and is intended to remain flexible in accord with climatic and market conditions in the local area. The radio programs are broadcast six days a week, eight hours a day (5:00 A.M. to 9:00 A.M. and 4:00 P.M. to 8:00 P.M.). They include approximately 50 percent popular music and 20 percent agricultural information along with programs of health, family interest, local news, and so on. The large proportion of the programming devoted to music is due to the necessity of competing with other radio stations for a listening audience. The nature of the radio program strategy varies but generally includes a minimum of lecture and a maximum of short, concise pieces of information, soap operas, news, interviews, and music. The EBR's 1974 evaluation indicated that among the southeastern Ladino audience, some 85 percent of those interviewed listened to the EBR station daily.

Each of the monitors in the EBR program works in five communities with a total of three hundred to four hundred campesino families. They organize and direct radio forums, report weekly to the program headquarters, and receive in-service training weekly. During the twenty-minute, once-a-week listening group, the monitor plays the recorded radio message of the week on a portable cassette tape recorder while he displays an appropriate set of flip charts synchronized to the message. After the formal session, the monitor carries on a discussion with the participants reporting the salient points to the EBR central office where they are used in the following week's programs. The agronomist is intended to reinforce the monitor's activities through the use of a demonstration plot accessible to the farmers in the area as well as in identifying agricultural problems which may be useful as bases for future radio programs (Ray and Monterroso 1975).

Early summative evaluation data of the EBR program for 1974, in comparison to base line data collected in 1973, was obtained through interviewing random samples of participants and members of the control group in the southeastern area of the country. Generally, the results indicate that in terms of new knowledge acquired, the radio/monitor/agronomist treatment proved more effective than the radio/monitor, which, in turn, proved more effective than the radio alone. All experimental treatments were more effective with respect to transmitting new knowledge than no treatment at all. In terms of the impact on favorable attitudes the results were the same. With regard to improved practices, also evaluated through self-report measures, however, the results indicate a decrease in the use of recommended practices between 1973 and 1974. Practices of farmers were not as affected as knowledge and attitudes, so the report suggests, because of the availability and price of fertilizers, the former widespread use of fertilizers in one locale, and the existence of a very good crop year in 1973 (Rich and Nesman 1975).

Although it is clear that the EBR program is in its infancy, the intended future evaluations will add considerably to our understanding of the impact of nonformal education. The program is also of interest because of its experimental nature and the fact that it bypasses literacy as a precondition to behavioral change. The major problem with the effort as I see it is its lack of relationship with other rural social promotion agencies in terms of credit, technology, marketing, and the like. While this factor is recognized by the EBR leadership, it is apparently not being addressed with the same care and concern as the educational activity itself. This lack of integration with other components in the social system may eventually provide an alternative hypothesis to explaining why the farming practices of campesinos have not been affected by the program.

Whereas research on agricultural extension programs in Latin America appears extremely scarce, sufficient literature exists to raise serious questions about both the appropriateness of the extension model for Latin America and its impact. There are reports, for example, which suggest that extension agents lack material resources and an ability to relate to rural farmers (Di Franco and Clifford 1962; Chesterfield and Ruddle 1975); that agricultural youth organizations are limited in number and serve primarily those rural farmer families already fairly well-off economically (Hurtado and Herudek 1974); that housewives' clubs are serviced by urban dwelling *mejoradoras* who seldom visit and teach useless information to campesina women who don't have the resources to seek better food or make house improvements (Hurtado

and Herudek 1974); that extension agencies are marked by a tendency toward bureaucratic proliferation and duplication of function supported by U.S. foreign assistance which champions a wholesale transfer of extension philosophy and methodology (Brown 1970; Inter-American Committee for Agricultural Development 1967); and that a measurable impact of such services has been difficult to uncover for programs directed at both rural women (Nelson 1970) and rural men (Inter-American Committee for Agricultural Development 1967). One of the most thorough research reports available evaluated agricultural extension services in twelve Central and South American countries (Rice 1971). While suggesting that extension services provided training for agricultural technicians, made governments more aware of the plight of the farmer, and contributed some to increased income and productivity, the author concludes the report in a way that reinforces the results from other studies mentioned above: "The study results show that the cumulative effects of extension activity in twelve countries has not made a major contribution to whatever progress has occurred and that whenever the density of agents has been increased for special extension projects, but without prior reinforcing changes in the economic environment the situation was not improved" (p. 61).

These problems of the extension model are discussed in a recent monograph by Rogers, Eveland, and Bean (1974). They indicate that as a result of the high correlation between agricultural productivity and the existence of an extension service in the United States, the model was exported to developing countries. It was assumed that the application of technical assistance combined with technology would augment food growing around the world as it had done in the United States. Thus the authors' comment: "Generally, the U.S. personnel sought to establish as exact a replica as possible of the North American agricultural extension model, complete with local extension agents and central extension training centers to produce them, extension specialists, and agricultural colleges" (1974:42).

The model, however, was based on client participation in program planning, identifying local needs, and feedback and evaluation; characteristics of United States farmers which were not transferable to other countries. Rogers, Eveland, and Bean note that extension agents in developing countries were faced with hopelessly large client ratios of eight thousand to one whereas in the United States the ratio was only four hundred to one. The application of the extension service also demanded rather large farms in order to take advantage of chemical fertilizers, insecticides, pesticides, and tractors. The result was increased attention to large farmers where major benefits could be achieved with

the least difficulty and an avoidance of small farmers who did not have access to credit and who did not have sufficient holdings to take advantage of the assistance offered through the extension service. Furthermore, it was easier for the extension agent with his urban background and formal education to communicate and carry out relations with large landholders, with whom the agent had more in common, than with rural peasants.

The result of the extension service in developing countries, therefore, along with some significant rises in agricultural output, was a further separation of well-to-do landowners at the expense of peasants. As Rogers, Eveland, and Bean put it: "The improvement of agricultural production by means of new technology in developing countries exacerbated the inequalities between the rich and poor farmers, and concentrated agricultural wealth, power, and knowledge in fewer and fewer hands" (1974:44).

The authors conclude their study of the extension service in developing countries in the following way: *"We conclude that the agricultural extension model has not been relatively successful when transferred to less developed countries"* (1974:50). The major reason given for such a remark is the lack of adaptation of the extension service model when diffusing it to other sociocultural contexts.

As many are now suggesting, the extension service, like its adult basic education and literacy counterparts, must form part of more holistic approaches to servicing the rural farmer. Watts (1973) for example, indicates that the impact of agricultural education has been exaggerated and even has a negative influence when it is applied in isolation. Whereas farmers may, for example, learn agricultural techniques, they are frustrated when they cannot sell what they produce. Although years ago some Latin Americans (e.g., Chaparro 1946) recognized the need for the integration of agricultural extension with credit, marketing, health, and so on, it is only recently that such packages of services have become widely accepted (Brown 1970; Mosher 1969).

Among the most recent expanded extension efforts is the Puebla project in Mexico. Begun in 1967, the program was reaching 4,833 families by 1970. It apparently achieved considerable early success in raising both corn yields and the income of rural families. The program involves a systematic effort to provide credit, technology, research, supplies, markets, and crop insurance (Jimenez Sanchez 1970). The Puebla project forms part of one of the worldwide institutes sponsored by the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research designed to promote international agricultural research and training.

The center to which the Puebla project is aligned is the International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center (CIMMYT). There are also the International Center of Tropical Agriculture (CIAT) in Cali, Colombia, and the International Potato Center (CIP) in Lima, Peru, which form part of the international network (Consultative Group in International Agricultural Research 1974). The Puebla project is often referred to as an integrated rural development scheme and in contradistinction to typical extension programs is designed to service smaller and poorer farmers in an ecologically disadvantaged area. The use of the word integrated here takes on a special meaning as it refers to a more balanced institutional and services program in the agricultural development process than that which characterizes the majority of the programs discussed in this section. Even the Puebla project, however, has encountered problems.

The project apparently began because of the low rate of small farmer adoption of new seeds and technology. Following research in the area it was thought that the primary reasons for nonadoption were a lack of available credit and technical knowledge. One extension agent was assigned to each of five ecological areas, each servicing approximately ten thousand farmers. The strategy involves the normal educational efforts combined with the organization of farmers into local credit groups based upon cultural and geographic ties. The first three years of the project were rather successful given the ecological conditions of the area. It was learned that the traditional criolla seed varieties used by the farmers were superior to the newly developed types and that they were, as the farmers already knew, responsive to the increased application of fertilizers. By the fourth year of the project, new farmer participation began to decline and only a relatively small number (5,240) of the forty-six thousand farmers in the area were among the participants. At the same time, however, the difference between the per acre yield of participants and nonparticipants was falling, indicating that those who did not belong to credit groups might have been adopting recommended practices through association with existing members. This does not explain, however, why so many individuals were not joining the credit group or adopting recommended practices. It has been suggested that the reason may rest with either the increased time involved in tending to the maize crop once having applied the fertilizer thereby reducing the opportunities to earn outside income through other sources or it may rest with the financial risks involved in switching from traditional practices (Coombs and Ahmed 1974). The risk hypothesis seems to be substantiated by Jiménez Sánchez (1970) who reports that early resistance in the project came from women who advised their

husbands not to secure credit because of the danger inherent in indebtedness.

Extension Education in Other Content Areas

The education extension and technical assistance programs in the field of agriculture are similar to education models used in other content-based agencies. In the field of law, for example, programs use a version of extension education to provide legal counseling and access to legal services. Law schools in at least eleven Latin American countries use such programs for the clinical training of lawyers. A recent seminar in Chile brought representatives of these programs together to discuss the nature of such efforts (Universidad Católica de Chile 1974*a*). The Department of Legal Practice and Assistance (DEPAL) in the Catholic University in Chile, for example, requires that students enrolled in the law faculty complete a clinical internship before graduation. The program involves the establishment of several neighborhood legal centers in poverty areas of Santiago where a law professor and six or seven students spend several hours once a week providing legal assistance to the population. The program is also responsible for a legal aid column written for a local newspaper and for the broadcasting of legal information over radio and television (Universidad Católica de Chile 1974*b*).

Trade union organizations have also used a modified extension program format to offer information to their members (Paulston 1971). In Central America, for example, trade unions were organized between 1940 and 1954 and trade union education for workers under the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) began in 1957. Seminars and courses are organized around such topics as collective bargaining, trade union organization, labor economics, grievances, parliamentary procedure, finance, and so on (Mejía Castro 1967). Another program of a similar type is organized in cooperation with the University of Chile in Santiago. The project is designed to provide education and technical assistance to trade union members and leaders and includes economics, law, administration, and business management. The intent is to assist individuals in the operation of worker-managed industries and in securing bases of power and responsibility within their legal rights (Corporación Asistencia Técnico-Sindical 1974).

Other examples of a predominantly extension-type model can be seen in the field of health education. Surprisingly, however, there is a relative scarcity of information in the literature on health programs. One reason for this void is that health programs often form part of basic education,

agricultural extension, and community development projects, and another is that much of the attention of the medical field is in the preventive and curative rather than in what health educators apparently refer to as the promotive area. Because many of the preventive programs are designed, however, to deliver services such as inoculations and other forms of medicine, the activity is usually viewed as having some educational impact. Nevertheless, as will be seen below, health extension programs are generally not distinguishable in strategy from other basic adult education programs discussed earlier.

One of the better known health education efforts in Central America and Panama in the 1960s was known as the Program of Mobile Units for Rural Areas (PUMAR). It was begun in 1962 under the Alliance for Progress and was designed to have sixty mobile health units, ten in each country, servicing 440 rural communities weekly. The units provided basic medical and public health services and were to organize local committees to carry out community development activities. By the end of 1964 the jeep-type ambulance units with a physician, nurse or nurse aide, and sanitary inspector were servicing a population of two million (Vintinner 1968). The Paddocks (1973) visited the Nicaraguan program, supposedly the most effective among the six countries, and found that there was little evidence of any community development efforts but that the health program was experiencing some success.

A more recent rural health extension program, this one in Guatemala, was begun in 1971 through the Ministry of Public Health and Social Assistance. The focus of the program is on the training of auxiliary personnel, including health promoters, native midwives, auxiliary nurses, and rural health technicians. Health promoters are community volunteers trained in public health, sanitation, nutrition, first aid, and in the diagnosis and treatment of the most common diseases. They make use of minimal facilities and are supervised periodically by a training team composed of a doctor and a nurse. The native midwives program responds to the reality of Guatemala where over 60 percent of all births are said to be attended by local, untrained midwives. Training of midwives lasts for three weeks in a local hospital whereupon the woman receives a basic set of instruments, dressings, and antiseptics. As with the health promoters, the midwives receive periodic supervisory visits. The training program for auxiliary nurses is designed to provide individuals to staff the more than three hundred health posts in the country. They also constitute the largest staff component in rural health centers and regional hospitals. Candidates for auxiliary nurse positions must have completed primary school and a fourteen-month training program in one of two auxiliary-nurse training schools. The final training program is designed to prepare rural health technicians

or individuals who are able to work in an intermediate capacity between medical doctors and health promoters. Limited to practicing in rural areas, the technicians are prepared to improve health in a broad sense through a two-year program following the completion of nine years of formal schooling. They are assigned to rural health posts as close to their native community as possible and work with an auxiliary nurse. Throughout this program of training, the emphasis is on promotive and preventive health care with medical care coming from regional hospitals (Long and Viau 1974).

Two final examples of health care delivery come from Colombia in the late 1960s. The first is known as the Colombian Institute of Family Well-being. It was begun in 1968 under the Ministry of Public Health with the objective of protecting minors under seven years of age and improving the health status of families through nutrition education. To these ends the institute initiated Community Centers for Infancy which, in addition to the above objectives, were also intended to foster community development programs (República de Colombia 1973). The centers are of different types depending on the physical facilities available. They include hospitals, abandoned schools and other buildings, and specially constructed facilities. By 1973 there were sixty community centers with some four thousand health care promoters working in about 30 percent of the rural area of the country. The institute is also involved in a large nutrition and food delivery program in collaboration with other ministries and international agencies (de Zubira Gómez and Calderón Martínez n.d.).

The second Colombian example concerns a family planning program carried out by the Ministry of Public Health, the Colombian Association of Faculties of Medicine (ASCOFAME), and The Improved Well-being Association of the Colombian Family (PROFAMILIA). The project in 1967 was emphasizing the use of intrauterine devices in family planning and had extended its research and training efforts to 340 health centers in small towns. It was also training urban hospital personnel. The project was backstopped by the International Planned Parenthood Federation which, through the PROFAMILIA office in Colombia, had twenty-six family planning clinics and by 1969 had reportedly served 63,000 women. Sanders (1970) reported that because of both political problems and the intervention of the Catholic Church the family planning program was moving cautiously in Colombia and that the adoption of such efforts has demanded a considerable transformation of moral, religious, and other cultural values.

Discussion about these content-based adult education programs, generally administered through agencies associated with the content itself rather than through education offices, raises the same limitations

noted earlier. Such programs, like their counterparts in education, are narrowly conceived and generally fail to link their efforts with other social service agencies or other components in the social system. The emphasis is on delivering information, skills, and attitudes with the assumption that these efforts will enable the requisite behavioral changes sought by program planners. The evidence, however, especially in the agricultural extension and technical assistance field, demonstrates the relative impotence of such strategies. As I indicate in chapter 7, it is clear to me that only through an integration of these, along with other, interventions across sectors of society is there any basis for optimism in the nonformal education and planned social change area. For now, however, I shall turn attention to the counterpart of many of these extension efforts by discussing some of the ways community members are organized either to receive assistance or to initiate community self-help organizations.

Community Organizations

Adult basic education in content areas is often linked to community organizations and associations that derive their initial leadership from outside of the community but are dependent on the voluntary participation of community members. These organizations include women's clubs, friendship groups, cooperatives, and community enterprises. Their purpose varies from merely providing a mechanism to bring together a group of individuals to receive technical assistance or instruction to community action and community self-help. Whereas I briefly describe examples in each of these areas, beginning with women's organizations, I concentrate on the use of cooperatives in Latin America as they, with the exception of community development programs which are discussed in the next chapter, appear to be given the highest priority among community organization efforts.

Although women's organizations are becoming more widespread, and somewhat more militant, in Latin America, their growth has tended to parallel the agricultural extension movement and they are often used as informal receiving groups for programs in health, nutrition, sanitation, and family planning. One of the most extensive efforts among women's organizations in Latin America was an outgrowth of the Honduran radio school program (ACPH). Known as Clubes de Amas de Casa, or housewives' clubs, the movement was initiated in 1967 by a radio school monitor and his wife who were concerned with the general exclusion of women from community action programs. By 1968, CARITAS (Catholic Relief Services) had initiated a nutrition and supplementary

foods program for mothers of preschool children and had joined forces with ACPH to foster the housewives' club idea. By June of 1975 there were 947 such clubs with 19 500 members nationwide. The activities of the clubs, now under the exclusive sponsorship of CARITAS, vary from simple discussions of local problems, food preparation, literacy, and health and sanitation to community development, artisanship, savings clubs, consumer cooperatives, and so on. The goal is to foster a sense of dignity and self-respect among women, to take advantage of the rights accorded women as citizens, to support the family as a social institution, and to encourage community action. A rotating credit fund has been established to assist in these efforts. The program has also trained seventy-five promoters of housewives' clubs who work full time as salaried promotion agents.

A different approach to the organization and training of women can be found in Bolivia. In 1973, the office of CODEX in Bolivia initiated a survey of the social promotion activities for women in the country. These included such programs as the Girl Scouts, nurses' organizations, Catholic action, and housewives' clubs. It was found that the majority of such activities were sponsored by private rather than public agencies; were begun since 1960; were focused on education, with health programs being emphasized; used Spanish as the means of communication; and organized women primarily through courses, meetings, and seminars (CODEX) 1973). As a result of the information gathered, CODEX initiated a pilot center for the development of women. The focus of the program is to organize women for social action through the training of social promotion agents and through sponsorship of group discussions and seminars. The intent is to overcome the traditional and stereotypical roles ascribed to women, to encourage social action, to coordinate the efforts of women's organizations, and to foster group goals.

Although the organization of women is receiving considerable discussion and emphasis, the majority of the community organizations in Latin America, whose members, nevertheless, are men, concentrate on issues that are not sex-linked. An example of an informal community organization designed to serve a primarily reception function for technical assistance is the friendship group program of the National Federation of Coffee Growers in Colombia. Rather than continue the practices of individual contact associated with many extension programs elsewhere and which have proven for the Coffee Growers Federation to be inadequate for reaching large numbers of small rural farmers, the extension service now works with farmers in community groups known as *grupos de amistad* ("friendship groups"). The Federation argues that such informal community institutions exist in all areas and are characterized

by indigenous leaders. The friendship group is a natural, informal organization whose voluntary membership is most often based on residential patterns solidified through feelings of mutual confidence. Such groups use face-to-face methods of communication and members are usually known to each other before being brought together in meetings of five to twenty-five individuals. Leaders are said to emerge naturally, based upon such group criteria as sensitivity, intelligence, experience, and influence. The Federation has carried out studies in several departments throughout Colombia in order to identify such leaders. It subsequently asks for their assistance in carrying out the extension program. Meetings are then held and members of the group choose their own leader, decide where and when to meet, topics for discussion, and so on. The extension agent is present during the meetings and apparently plays an important role in guiding the work of the group. Lectures, demonstrations, and discussions center on problems of health, education, recreation, the application of new technology, and methods of production. Currently, the Federation reports that more than three thousand friendship groups are organized with a membership of 34,000 individuals in fourteen departments of Colombia (Saldarriaga Villa 1972; Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia 1975).

There are many examples of community organizations, some of which are transitory and specially focused, as in the friendship groups and many women's organizations, and others which form the basis of economic and social cohesion for the entire community, as in cooperatives. Among some of the former and almost all of the latter, the emphasis is on collective action where access to information, technology, credit, and transportation is made easier and where community problem solving is supposedly enhanced (Jiménez Sánchez and Laird 1974).

COOPERATIVES

Cooperatives, also known as associations and societies, are normally owned and controlled by their voluntary member patrons, with each member usually having one vote, receiving the services of the cooperative at cost, and sharing in the surplus earnings (United Nations 1954). It appears that Latin America's first cooperatives, agricultural insurance associations, emerged in Argentina in 1898 among French immigrants (Konopnicki, 1971). After they were recognized publicly by the Argentine government in 1930, new types emerged and spread rapidly. By 1932 there were 251 and by 1939 there were 315 such organizations in that country (Powell 1942). Other Latin American nations subsequently initiated legislation making cooperatives possible. By 1940 in Brazil, for example, there were 256 consumer and 251 credit cooperatives among

more than 900 such organizations. In Chile, there existed different farmers' societies before 1929, but true cooperatives did not emerge until after 1936. By 1938 in Chile, there were 57 urban consumer cooperatives and 38 agricultural cooperatives. Although the countries of Central America and the Caribbean developed cooperatives rather slowly, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Venezuela all had cooperatives during this period. Mexico had both regular cooperatives as well as the *ejido* or communal land holding societies (Powell 1942; International Labor Office 1953).

Between 1951 and 1970 cooperatives in Latin America increased from 7,568 to 25,757 and membership went from 2,227,750 to 9,463,655. The major growth appeared in the 1960s. By 1970, Argentina and Brazil accounted for nearly 50 percent of the societies and two-thirds of the members. In addition, these two countries accounted for more than 75 percent of agricultural and consumer cooperatives while Chile and Uruguay had 25 percent of the housing and 14.4 percent of consumer cooperatives. Transportation cooperatives have been especially strong in Bolivia, Paraguay, and Mexico (Konopnicki 1971).

Because consumer cooperatives, the most widely accepted type in Latin America, come from England and because savings and credit cooperatives, the second largest type in Latin America, come from Germany, it is clear that such institutions are not indigenous to Latin America (Fals Borda 1971). Instead they are often associated with European immigrants and are legislated into existence rather than arising from popular movements. Thus they can emerge as easily for political purposes to pacify peasants or to soothe adverse effects of depressions as to promote or promise a better life. Even though there are legitimate economic and social reasons for initiating cooperatives, often their existence is pragmatically designed to satisfy bureaucratic requirements enabling participants to receive technical assistance, land, or credit from social promotion agencies (Hurtado and Herudek 1974). Such bureaucratic devices can be seen in a very common government policy in Latin America concerning credit. In order for a peasant farmer to secure credit through a bank or credit fund, for example, it is not unusual to require that he belong to a cooperative. As a peasant leader in Bolivia informed me, it was for this type of benefit that he began to organize the community into a cooperative. In fact, however, what the community initiated, according to this individual, was not a cooperative but a loose-knit organization called a cooperative which would satisfy the legal requirements and make access to credit feasible. Another reason that social promotion agencies are promoting cooperatives is the ease of access they have to groups of peasants and the obvious implications for

reducing costs in terms of reaching greater numbers. Because cooperatives are often the only institutionalized form of group activity in the rural area, several agencies use them as points of diffusion for health, nutrition, literacy, and other forms of education. Likewise, agricultural assistance in terms of the use of seeds, fertilizers, methods of production, and so on are often channeled through the membership.

The majority of the cooperatives in Latin America, however, whether they concern production, marketing, credit, consumption, or are multipurpose, combining two or more of these functions, are organized because they offer what appears to be a relatively simple way for people to come together in order to help themselves. Often, for example, cooperatives are designed to organize peasants for collective action by eliminating middlemen and thereby increasing the income and autonomy of participants. This is because the typical middleman who provides the credit, sells the peasant his seeds and fertilizers, arranges transportation, and then distributes the product in the marketplace exacts a heavy price for his services. In effect, such individuals fix the cultivator's rewards by limiting the amount of production possible and demanding prohibitive prices from the consumer. Profits come from each step in the process by simply taking advantage of the peasant's lack of organization in terms of entrepreneurial activity (Esquivel 1966). The introduction of a cooperative association is designed to lessen the influence of the middleman and enable peasants to have more direct access to the marketplace and thereby increase their income and power.

True cooperatives of the community-based type are dependent upon a number of environmental preconditions as well as certain membership characteristics in order that they may manifest desired goals. Whereas the major goal is the achievement of some level of economic success, often the wider economic and political conditions present are not conducive to such activity (Instituto Chileno de Educación Cooperativa 1974). Political and economic resistance by middlemen or large landholders often creates obstacles to the cooperative's operation. Such resistance may be imbedded in decades of accepted values and behavior patterns by both peasants and intermediaries and be grounded in cultural contracts of the patron-client, or *compradrazo*, type. Another environmental factor of importance is the economic stability present in the area not only in terms of costs and earnings but in the climatic and biophysical conditions bearing on agricultural production. Peasants themselves must evidence sufficient social cohesion and uniformity in terms of background, interests, and needs to form such organizations. Mutual respect and trust among members in the coalescence around common socioeconomic incentives must therefore be present in order that the cooperative not falter from internal strife and bickering.

Ecuador provides an example of a Latin American country that has experienced recent and rapid growth of cooperatives. Whereas the first, a savings and credit cooperative, was begun in the City of Guayaquil in 1919, until 1937 when the first law of cooperatives was passed there was little knowledge of their organization and operation. After 1937 some growth in cooperatives was seen, but it was not until 1961 when a national office of cooperatives was established that a cooperative movement can be said to have begun. By 1973 there were 2,274 cooperatives with 100,000 members; 5 percent of these cooperatives had 55 percent of the total capital. Some 46 percent of more than 2,000 cooperatives are of the production type while 22 percent are service, 18 percent credit, and 14 percent are consumer oriented. Of the production cooperatives almost all are agricultural while the service cooperatives are primarily concerned with urban housing and the services are almost exclusively oriented toward transportation involving bus and taxi drivers (Hurtado and Herudek 1974).

From the perspective of social promotion agencies, the success of cooperatives also depends on the education and technical assistance received by members. Such programs are likely to be directed to the rationale and organizational requirements inherent in cooperatives as well as to the problems of decision-making, leadership, and accounting—including costs to the membership, pricing, distribution of earnings, and so on. There is some evidence to suggest that these primarily educational inputs are not being carried out satisfactorily and are at the root of problems associated with the operation of cooperatives (Heath 1969). Hurtado and Herudek (1974) report for example, that in several Ecuadorian provinces some 85 percent of the members of cooperatives had no idea what a cooperative was even though they were members. Thus they comment that two major interrelated issues emerge with regard to cooperatives. One is the idea that only the leadership of the cooperative is aware of the organizational and operational intricacies of the institution and that these individuals often take advantage of the worker's labor. This is also supported by Benecke (1973) in Chile. The second major problem mentioned by Hurtado and Herudek concerns the preparation, knowledge, and organizational skills of the membership with regard to participating in a cooperative. They find that to avoid these problems many social promotion agencies are retaining the actual operation of the cooperative in their offices rather than turning the institution over to the membership itself.

One example of this latter problem can be seen in the Agricultural Enterprise Promotion Program (PPEA) in Ecuador. Organized in 1971 and restructured in 1973, PPEA is designed to assist small farmers in the coastal region of Ecuador increase their productivity and income

through the organization and support of agricultural cooperatives. Through technical assistance, the development of production and investment plans, and credit for irrigation and infrastructure development, the program has successfully enabled farmers to meet their economic objectives. In order to qualify for assistance, a cooperative must be organized and must have a paid manager trained by the program. The salary of the manager and other start-up and administrative costs may be paid for through loans from the program. Accountants and agricultural technicians servicing the thirty-seven participating cooperatives are financed jointly by the program and the cooperatives. The 1,463 small farmers reached through the program are involved primarily in rice cultivation and, although participating in a cooperative, may be organized communally or individually in terms of production. Assisted by market increases in the price of rice, the farmers in the program are nevertheless showing income gains of as high as 1,000 percent over preproject levels. Before the program, participants were tenant farmers, dependent on intermediaries for credit and committed to selling their harvest at barely break-even prices. Owing to agrarian reform and the establishment of cooperatives, as well as to ideal circumstances for large-scale modern agriculture, the PPEA project has been able to take advantage of the farmers' desires to increase their standards of living. While all of these positive effects have been going forward, PPEA is still criticized for its paternalistic approach in that it has not provided sufficient training in basic accounting procedures to cooperative managers. It is argued that without such training, in the long run the farmers will remain dependent on outside assistance (Hatch n.d.).

Whereas the PPEA program is indicative of an isolated, yet somewhat successful, cooperative assistance effort, two other examples provide additional insight into the goals of such agencies. In Chile, the Institute for Cooperative Education (CECOOP) provides training and technical assistance for the Chilean cooperative movement. In existence since 1963 and maintained and supported by fifty-five member cooperatives, the institute between June of 1965 and October of 1974 offered 305 courses to 11,304 individuals at various levels of cooperative involvement (Instituto Chileno de Educación Cooperativa 1975). Likewise, the Institute of Cooperative Investigation and Formation in Honduras, in existence since 1974, is designed to accelerate the development of the cooperative movement through research and education. Although the program is very new, the early emphasis has been on educating members and directors of cooperatives through courses, seminars, and correspondence instruction. As in other countries, the institute is the education extension

arm of the Honduran Confederation of Cooperatives composed of seven federations and including some 75,000 members in 425 cooperatives.

Even though there is a recognized need for cooperative education programs and it is apparent that there are and have been many agencies involved in the delivery of such information and skills (Colombian 1950), a three-country study by Fals Borda (1971) found them inadequate. He reported that in the majority of the cooperatives he studied, an average of four months of preparation was used in initiating a cooperative. Such activity was often in the form of short courses for members and additional courses for leaders. Some involved the use of mass media whereas others included literature and posters and still others involved visitations to already ongoing neighboring cooperatives. Fals Borda remarks that such instruction was often incomprehensible, redundant, and superficial. He states: "In the end, most such efforts could be seen as largely wasted, as the reality of the local organization imposed rules, expectations, and ways of organization not anticipated in the lessons" (1971:71).

A study by Carroll (1969) of cooperatives in Latin America finds that most successful cooperatives reported in the literature are isolated and localized programs. He believes that the reason for the lack of success does not rest as much with education as it does with such external factors as legitimacy, structural obstacles, and socioeconomic linkages. He comments on some of these factors in the following statement:

> Sporadic successes notwithstanding, large-scale peasant cooperative movements will have to await the emergence of strong, ideologically committed peasant unions, usually in the aftermath of agrarian reforms. Through such a link-up to national power sources cooperatives can obtain essential external support. The economic base of cooperatives can, in turn, offer campesino sindicatos independence and continued viability. However, there is danger that unless the ideological commitment is deep, political and economic support may be withdrawn from peasant cooperatives before they can overcome the many internal obstacles they face and before they are able to consolidate their positions. [p. 81].

Because the organization of cooperatives is almost totally dependent upon leadership emanating from outside of the community itself, there is an inherent danger of such institutions becoming mere pawns in the hands of other agencies. This appears to be the conclusion of Fals Borda (1971) in his study of eleven cooperatives in Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. He found that whereas all of the cooperatives were initiated and promoted from outside the respective communities and that through the transfer of technology and the provision of improved social and financial services some were able to raise production and levels of living, none appeared to have a wider effect on collective action. Instead, they

were most often mechanisms of adjustment for rural peasants to the existing social order which in itself was in need of structural reform. As Fals Borda remarks: "Regardless of sponsorship or type, the cooperatives as a rule did not broaden the political and civic consciousness of their members, nor did they stimulate enough self-determination, autonomy and creativity among the peasantry as to lead to significant political, economic and social transformation" (1971:143).

Although one may concur with Fals Borda in his desire to see the "liberation and transformation" of the marginal rural population, such high standards for judging them successful likely go beyond what is realistic in terms of the constraints established by competing and much more powerful vested interests at the regional and national levels. As Carroll (1969) notes, there is a circularity in the situation: it begins with the necessity for outside assistance because of the lack of knowledge and responsibility by participants; this is followed by a need on behalf of the outside agency to protect its investment and avoid failure combined with continued scarcity in opportunities for participants to learn necessary skills; this, in turn, leads to the need for further outside assistance, and so on. Thus there is little doubt that as individuals are brought into the national market and receive the wisdom of technical assistance agents their dependency on national and world economic and political conditions increases. Once again, we can see liberation and development in the context of overall cooperative processes and goals. Fals Borda himself appears to be concerned with this ideological impasse:

> It can be expected that rural cooperatives of the credit and entrepreneurial types may continue functioning for many more years as they have functioned until the present, as safe symbols of social reform, adjusting themselves to the dominant milieu, promoting marginal changes, and helping to "develop" the countries without tampering with the foundations of the prevailing socioeconomic system. Yet the cooperative movement in its present form, even with its many limitations, may carry within it the seeds of a more basic or revolutionary transformation, as the general social crisis experienced in Latin America becomes more and more acute. A certain increase of the peasant's awareness of present social problems and life conditions, an increase of his income, and of his capacity to manage his own affairs, may be prerequisite to a subsequent more significant transformation. Marginal modifications of this type may thus acquire an accumulated force that can lead to more basic change. [1971:145]

COMMUNITY ENTERPRISES

Cooperatives are only one of several types of participatory enterprises that exist at the local level. Others include collectives, or the aggregation of community resources for common projects; *ejidos*, found primarily in Mexico, where crop surpluses are marketed through the *ejido* while

private plots are cultivated; *empresas comunitarias*, where individuals are paid a wage and other proceeds are directed to a general fund to pay for supplies, equipment, administration, and training; and worker owned and managed industries where workers are involved in profit sharing and the general management of such enterprises. Each of these forms of socioeconomic organization is dependent on educational extension programs to provide basic knowledge, skills, and attitudes to the membership. Some are tied to a liberation ideology where the destruction of patron-client dependency relationships is the major goal, whereas others are primarily development oriented and geared to international capitalism.

The Fundación Cardijn in Chile, for example, provides a program of technical assistance and training for worker managed and owned industries in order to foster democratic participation and encourage placing control of the means of production as well as the resulting profits in the hands of the workers themselves. Similarly, a program at the National University in Costa Rica is designed to assist campesinos in collectively acquiring and directing the means of production, controlling decisions over their use, and allocating the resulting products (Escuela de Planificación y Promoción Social n.d.). In each of these cases, the intent is to foster collective rather than individual action and to create a bond between producers and consumers so that cooperativism becomes a way of life. There are often attempts to coordinate such efforts with access to credit and technical assistance and considerable stress is placed on education for liberation through consciousness-raising programs.

An example of a community enterprise program that was designed from a holistic perspective was carried out by the National Agrarian Federation (FANAL) in Colombia. FANAL is a private, nonprofit federation of rural trade unions composed of more than 120,000 members and affiliated with the Workers Union of Colombia. Since its beginning in 1946 FANAL has represented rural workers in their attempts to improve their own socioeconomic levels as well as to assist in the reform of agrarian structures. Educationally, FANAL is involved at the national level in what might be termed civic education including areas like socio-organizational problems associated with cooperatives and community enterprises and the rights and responsibilities of campesinos under new agrarian reform legislation. Utilizing a modified trickle-down approach, for example, FANAL provides short courses of instruction to campesino leaders on the impact of the agrarian reform on farmers.

In 1972 FANAL initiated an experimental program of cooperative farming enterprises in two areas of Colombia. Through the purchase of

two farms, one of 150 hectares and the other of 240 hectares, FANAL established the community enterprises in an attempt to improve the economic and social conditions of participating rural workers by providing guaranteed incomes. The ownership of the farms remained in the hands of FANAL, however, and subsistence farmers of small plots were selected to participate in what was promised as a profitable community farming enterprise. Technical and socio-organizational assistance as well as a rotating credit fund were established by FANAL in order to support the experimental programs.

The first farm, Rosales, is now termed a failure by FANAL whereas the second, Acacias, is still in operation. At Rosales, FANAL claims to have made considerable progress in the socialization of workers to produce as a community enterprise. There were many problems encountered, however, in moving toward a cooperative in terms of consumption and the provision of community services. The explanation of the failure at Rosales is attributed to outside political agitators who demanded that the workers have title to their land rather than work for FANAL. As the land at Rosales is now being sold in small parcels to individual farmers and FANAL is abandoning the project, the Acacias farm is apparently evolving to the same fate. Although there are likely to be many other factors at work which would assist in the explanation of the demise of Rosales as a cooperative farming enterprise (e.g., selection of participants), the issue of land tenure appears as one of the more significant. Whether the failure could have been avoided by announcing at the outset plans for the gradual assumption of worker ownership is unknown. The case does suggest, however, the importance of assessing both the aspirations of a target population in such areas as land tenure as well as the external constraints like political pressures which impinge directly on such a program.

A final example of an agency designed to foster alternative socio-economic organizations is the Foundation for the Socio-Economic Development of the Marginal Classes (FUNDECLAM) in Bogotá. The foundation creates industrial or service oriented community enterprises in which the membership provides the labor and subsequently receives the economic benefits. In collaboration with the national apprenticeship service (SENA) a special urban technical-vocational skills program is designed for marginal urban dwellers. These individuals, under FUNDECLAM, are then organized into a community enterprise which is eventually designed to become an autonomously managed business drawing technical and administrative assistance from FUNDECLAM. The foundation attempts to secure credit for incipient enterprises through other agencies and assists in developing commercial channels

for selling products and services emanating from the enterprise. Thus far FUNDECLAM has initiated three community enterprises, one in services and two in dressmaking. The foundation retains 50 percent of the earnings of the various enterprises in order to, among other uses, create and maintain an education fund, create new enterprises, repair equipment, and augment the capital of the foundation. In anticipation of the division of the remaining 50 percent of the earnings, workers are paid a salary of less than U.S. $.20 per hour (Fundación Para el Desarrollo Socioeconómico de las Clases Marginadas n.d.*a, b*).

Given the holistic approach adopted here, community organizations like cooperatives and community enterprises are a necessary socioeconomic aspect of social change programs. As can be seen, however, these forms of popular participation are characterized by both internal and external problems which make their effectiveness extremely difficult to maximize. They are often overly dependent on external agencies for assistance, subject to economic and sociostructural obstacles, and do not have a sufficient power base to be competitive economically with large commercial establishments. Furthermore, such organizations lack the leadership which can relate to the wider socioeconomic environment in terms of the knowledge and skills that characterize that environment. Education can address this last issue only in terms of transmitting information and skills; whether the education will take hold, however, depends on the alteration of the other more systemic problems. Even where communal systems of control over production are attempted, such efforts must often relate to the wider network of credit, technology, and marketing based on individualistic and capitalistic ideologies and practices. This wider environment inevitably shapes and pressures small communally based organizations of which only a few are likely to sustain the strength to persevere. As Fals Borda and many liberationists say, however, the long-term implications of such programs may be an increase in an individual's awareness and responsibility leading to a more basic societal transformation as pressures for system-wide changes increase.

Summary

This chapter, in contradistinction to the adult education and literacy discussion in chapter 4, is concerned with adult basic education programs that are linked to and administered by such content-based agencies as agriculture and health. The chapter also discusses community organizations designed as either information reception groups or community self-help programs. The agricultural extension model, exported to Latin

America from the United States in the 1940s, formed the basis for many agricultural education and technical assistance efforts. Examples of these programs are discussed and the conclusions from the available research literature are reported. The agricultural extension experience suggests that such programs have had a limited impact with small farmers and are highly dependent on the existence of favorable socioeconomic conditions as well as access to credit, technology, and marketing. Legal, trade union, and health education programs which have adopted variants of the extension model appear even less socioeconomically integrated than do agriculture programs.

Community organizations, as the counterpart to the efforts of many content-based adult education programs, are discussed in terms of their function as centers of reception for information and technical assistance as well as institutions to foster community self-help. In the former category women's organizations and friendship groups are offered as examples whereas in the latter category the emphasis is on cooperatives with some mention of community enterprises. It is argued that although community organizations of the cooperative and community enterprise types are necessary components in a holistic approach to social change, they face a considerable number of obstacles both internally and externally. Problems of leadership and basic administrative and organizational skills are examples of internal problems, and paternalism, size, access to markets, and so on are examples of external problems. In both areas, the effect of education is questionable as the small community organization is primarily dependent on the structural constraints existing in the wider society.

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6.

Community Development and Integrated Development

This chapter discusses two approaches to social change which have been alluded to in the preceding chapters. The first is community development, a self-help and community mobilization scheme based primarily on man-oriented principles, and the second is integrated development, or a primarily multifaceted interventionist model based on more holistic and systemic assumptions. Both approaches bring together the rather isolated and single-channel approaches discussed in preceding chapters. Whereas we now have considerable insight into the strengths and weaknesses of community development as a result of the experiences of the last twenty-five years, integrated development is rather new on the scene and has yet to be researched in any systematic way. On the basis of available evidence, however, it is argued that whereas self-help community development efforts have not demonstrated much impact in desired directions the integrated approach based upon its holistic assumptions appears to offer considerably more promise.

Community Development

Aspects of various educational programs discussed in preceding chapters, including community schools, basic education, literacy training, extension education, cooperatives, and to some degree technical/vocational training, came together in the late 1940s and 1950s to form a more comprehensive approach to local development goals (Pan American Union 1963). The term was community development and it referred to the achievement of social and economic progress through the voluntary and active participation of community members (United Nations 1955). Its closest ally in time and method was probably the

fundamental education programs of UNESCO, but as can be seen from the preceding discussions, the cultural missions of Mexico and elsewhere in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s clearly form a continuous thread leading to community development efforts. Thus, although it was the international multilateral agencies, especially the United Nations, which pushed the community development model, Latin Americans had been engaged in such efforts long before the pronouncements of such agencies gave them a legitimate term with which to refer to their programs.

Community development can mean many things to many people. To some it is a process, to others a method, and to still others it may be a program or even a movement (Sanders 1958). Whereas the early rhetoric of those devoted to community development would have one believe it was a truly multipurpose activity, and in some cases it clearly was, in the majority of cases community development was little more than an educational effort akin to other adult basic education programs. It expanded considerably, however, on the delivery of the single educational product like literacy, basic education, agricultural assistance, and public health and attempted to bring together these various branches in a unified effort. Whereas in this respect community development was multipurpose, it still failed to deal systematically with the structural constraints associated with such phenomena as credit, marketing, the application of technology, and so on.

Community development acquired its characteristic features under Mahatma Gandhi and Rajendra Pradesh in India in the early 1940s. It spread throughout Asia and Africa and is said to have had its greatest impact in Latin America in the late 1950s and early 1960s (United Nations 1964; Violich and Astica 1967). Perhaps the unique contribution of community development was the notion of community initiative and self-help. This involved at least three aspects. First, it was assumed that if the activities engaged in by the community were responses to the expressed or felt needs of the populace, there would be sufficient motivation to carry through with such activities resulting in the resolution of an immediate problem; second, the method often involved the organization of a community around a *junta de acción comunal* or a community action committee of local leaders who would decide the priorities to be dealt with and the course of action to be taken; and, third, the entire community, including men, women, and youth, were to be mobilized behind the junta in attacking the priority problem area. Thus it was the process of community mobilization and self-help, generally within the constraints established by available human and physical resources, that was to guide the community development process. It was also this reliance upon community initiative and resources

which proved to be inadequate to the development goals sought. In retrospect, it was not the emphasis on self-help or felt needs as components in the community development movement that prevented the movement from manifesting tangible goals; it was self-help as the goal which likely caused the problems.

One gets the impression from looking at such programs that the building of latrines, roads, schools, houses, and so on were merely means to the creation of a self-help community climate and structure. Thus such activities, although valuable in their own right, were not the ends of the process. Instead, it was the attitudinal and value changes accompanied by a community decision-making structure which was the real goal and the one which was to outlive any single project. Once each community could experience the power it had among its own populace and could manifest that potential, it was hoped that the community development process would be continuous and everlasting.

A central aspect of community development programs in terms of their operation was the change agent or community development worker. It was this individual, sent to the community by a public or private agency, including the international voluntary groups like Peace Corps, who was charged with teaching the local populace how to mobilize its resources for solving community problems. If the change agent did not live in the rural village or urban barrio, he at least visited frequently. It was his task to know the community, carry on a dialogue to discover felt needs, assess available resources, encourage the specification of a solvable problem, and organize the community to take appropriate action. The dependence on a change agent was so frequent that a United Nations mission visiting thirty communities and twenty-two projects in Jamaica, Haiti, Puerto Rico, Trinidad, and Mexico in 1953 was unable to find a project that was not begun without the entrance of such a person (Hussein and Taylor 1953).

Because these self-help community development programs initiated by either outsiders or members of the community trained by outsiders were so common it is difficult to find cases where community action has occurred without such intervention. Robert Redfield's (1950) description of Chan Kom, a village in the Yucatan area of Mexico, appears to provide one such case. After having studied the community in 1933, Redfield returned to assess changes throughout the next sixteen years. Although he found that the community was highly progressive he had difficulty in explaining its success in terms other than competent leadership, which he suggests was common among its original settlers. In his success-begets-success explanation, Redfield comments that the community took advantage of outside influence and was intent upon achieving greater political power through "becoming a pueblo" as early as

1917. "To 'become a pueblo' meant to adopt many of the ways and political forms and ambitions of townspeople. It meant to accept the tools, leadership, and conceptions of progress which were then being offered to the villagers of Yucatan by the leaders of Mexico's social revolution" (1950:1). Such an objective, according to Redfield, was the basis upon which the collective energy of the people was directed. It was the competition with other villages in the pursuit of becoming a pueblo which enabled the leadership to mobilize action.

Whereas the Redfield study of Chan Kom likely provided some support to the notion that communities could actually foster such grass-roots action, there is a dearth of information on communities that ever did so. Instead, the model community development program involving change agents and self-help continued to evolve until it began to draw some attention by researchers. Pascoe (1966), for example, analyzed thirty-six community development programs in Mexico, Central America, Panama, and the Caribbean and concluded that such activities were often completely unrelated to ongoing activities like land reform, regional economic planning, the creation of markets for products, and so on. In addition, Pascoe noted that there was a complete absence of research on such programs. Subsequently, Adams (1964) argued that community development initiatives presupposed the existence of national development in the sense that there had to be a source for new knowledge, new technology, and credit and financing in order for communities to manifest socioeconomic goals. Erasmus (1968) also challenged the self-help model by pointing to its reliance on "democratic community participation," "self-determination," "local self-government" and other such rhetoric to the near exclusion of material goals such as living standards, housing, health, and so on. In reviewing the literature, Erasmus found little evidence of the impact of the community development strategy and little attempt to specify or measure tangible goals. He also suggested that the community development fervor be directed toward more material goals which would raise production levels and living standards.

While these self-help community development projects were spread throughout Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s and continue today in large numbers in probably every country, they were apparently paralleled by a few other community development efforts which adopted a more multifaceted strategy. Whereas the self-help initiative was still the major goal in these latter efforts, they differed from the more narrowly conceived programs in the sense that they attempted to bring other resources to the community which enabled some potential socioeconomic benefit to be felt at the local level. I would like to turn to a brief discussion of a few cases which attempted to foster this more

multifaceted approach; at the same time I will demonstrate how community development projects grew out of basic or fundamental education efforts.

One of these programs was under the direction of the Mexican Secretariat of Education and was associated with UNESCO. Begun in 1949, the Mexican Pilot Program in Basic Education shows the transition between fundamental education and community development that occurred during this period. Whereas the program went beyond basic education and included a more multipurpose and comprehensive approach, it failed to concern itself with wider structural constraints. The program took place in a valley in Mexico's western state of Nayarit and was designed to (1) supply all residents with basic reading and writing skills, (2) improve the economic bases of the population through better farming methods and organization, (3) improve the conditions of home and family life, (4) improve all aspects of sanitation and health, and (5) provide new and better forms of recreation (Fisher 1957).

The assumption was that change was interdependent and slow in coming and that the program would have to be highly integrated and flexible. The precondition to success was thought to be based on gaining the confidence of the residents in the community. Whereas the first year of the program was reported to have been intense with considerable enthusiasm and confidence (Radvanyi 1951), immediately thereafter there emerged certain personnel problems internal to the program and certain external political problems revolving around land tenure. The result was a new approach applied to one village rather than the whole valley. The strategy became less integrated, and the problems with the land tenure system continued as attempts to make basic alterations evoked serious resistance by those who stood to profit from the system as it was. According to Fisher (1957), results were negligible in all areas with the exception of the recreation, housing, and basic education programs. Fisher attributes these results to an inability to alter the political system and a lack of government support. He concludes that the construction of a network of roads in the area contributed more in terms of change than all of the pilot project technicians combined.

A second program which demonstrates the transitional period between fundamental education and community development was also carried out in Mexico in the early 1950s. Under the auspices of CREFAL, the project took place in Tzintzuntzan, a village field laboratory and a potential showcase to demonstrate the effects of community development activities (Foster 1967). Initiated in 1953, the project was designed to introduce pottery making, weaving, furniture making, chicken ranching, and embroidery into the community. In addition, there were projects planned but never realized to encourage people to sweep the fronts of

their houses on Saturdays, to initiate the playing of musical selections by bands on Sundays, and to open a community store. With the exception of embroidery, all of the projects failed. Foster (1967) suggests that there were technical, communication, structural, and cultural problems which explain the lack of success at Tzintzuntzan. Technically, there were problems with new equipment introduced into the community; in terms of communication, Foster contends that CREFAL's objectives were not well understood and that there was a lack of supervision and assistance; structurally, there was a problem associated with the existence of a continuing market for the products and crafts produced; and culturally, there was an assumption that cooperativism was prevalent in the community when actually the population was very individualistic as well as conservative and suspicious. In effect, the lack of success is attributed to CREFAL rather than to the shortcomings of the community.

Another example of a transitional program, also in Mexico, was carried out in the Lake Patzcuaro area by students in the CREFAL training program. The project was intended to introduce chicken farming to a group of Tarascan Indians on the island of La Pacanda. For three years, beginning in 1951, the project encountered no success in introducing the program. In 1954, however, three community residents agreed to accept twenty-five pullets. The next year the same men accepted supervised loans for equipment purchases and for building chicken houses. They also received 135 pullets each along with veterinary care, weekly allowances for feed, and technical supervision. By 1960 half of the island's sixty-five families were raising chickens and many more had applied for loans. The La Pacanda program was termed one of CREFAL's most successful experiments (Smith 1961).

The dependence on education and self-help, akin to fundamental education's emphasis on beginning where the people are, on stimulating local improvement, and on raising hopes and aspirations can be seen in these and other community development projects begun during the 1950s and 1960s. Bolivia, for example, initiated the National Community Development Service (SNDC) in 1950. By 1965 it began to receive increased support and by 1974 had apparently completed 1,370 community development projects and had trained more than 15,000 campesino leaders through a self-help-oriented program (USAID 1974). Although such efforts led in 1972 to a more integrated approach to change with emphasis on economic goals, it has apparently not taken hold owing to a lack of specific objectives, prior planning, technical and financial assistance, and trainee follow up (USAID 1975).

Another multifaceted program in Bolivia, a variant on the community development model, was begun in the 1950s and 1960s and continues today. Employing different methods of colonization, that is, spontaneous,

directed, and foreign, the Bolivian government attempted to encourage individuals to move into the fertile lowlands of the country where the area was relatively sparsely populated and where the government wanted to increase agricultural production. Carried out initially in the Santa Cruz area, the program provided the migrants with assistance through a monthly subsidy, housing, medical attention, technical assistance, and community services. Even with such support, however, some 75 percent of the migrants abandoned the project. The failure was explained in terms of a lack of access to markets and an inability of the migrants to be self-sustaining when government subsidies were reduced. In the late 1960s the construction of a paved access road made some colonies more economically viable but droughts apparently affected the potable water supply and caused many families to leave the area. Whereas the colonization program had these problems with Bolivian migrants, the foreign migrants have not abandoned the area and have been able to manifest a more viable economic existence. One explanation provided for the success of the foreigners is their ability to rely on strong cooperatively based sociocultural institutions along with the existence among them of agronomists who developed research programs for deciding what agricultural crops should be produced (USAID 1974).

One can note the rather eclectic approaches involved in these examples and the problems inherent in introducing change into a community. Although such brief references to both simple and complex methodologies and projects are insufficient to make any judgments as to why a program succeeded or failed, those who have tried to make such analyses have usually come away with few answers. One of the most recent reviews of community development programs appeared in 1968 (United Nations). At that time the researchers found a continuing trend toward community development methods and principles in the absence of any clear evidence of impact. The reviewers concluded:

> The Latin American experience in community development training has not been altogether satisfactory to the countries or to the international agencies. CREFAL found that its work over some fourteen years demonstrated that the differing situations of the countries would not admit of a single generalized treatment. The development activities at the local level for limited geographical coverage or small numbers of people did not bring about the structural changes required for a "take-off." It was concluded that better results could be achieved by attempting to integrate activities at the local or sectoral levels by linking these with more comprehensive schemes. As a result, the community development approach—which had been conceived as universally effective—should be regarded as a method of action to assure popular participation and its coordination with efforts of the public sector, rather than as autonomous programmes with inter-sectoral objectives. [United Nations 1968:74]

Two additional examples of community development approaches, also of the intersectoral type, are somewhat more comprehensive than those discussed thus far. These projects were also initiated in the early 1950s. The first, and probably the most famous popular participation program in Latin America in recent decades, was the Cornell University Vicos project in the Peruvian highlands. Beginning in 1952, a team of Cornell social scientists led by Allan Holmberg attempted to design and implement a systematic program of research and development in order to determine how a hacienda community would respond to a concerted effort to introduce it to a more modern way of life. In collaboration with the Peruvian Indianist Institute, the team assumed a lease controlling a large estate known as Vicos with 40,000 acres of land and 1,703 monolingual Quechua-speaking Indians who had been bound to the land as serfs or peons since early colonial times (Holmberg 1965). The basic strategy was to introduce innovations into those aspects of the local culture in which the greatest deprivations were felt and to do so in an integrated or contextual way rather than piecemeal. Each of the particular goals was mapped, with attention placed on the current, past, and projected constraints impinging on its achievement. These constraints included base line institutional and ideological situations, a record of past interventions, the present institutional and ideological situation, plans for program interventions, and corresponding institutional and ideological goals or end points (Holmberg 1958).

Early consultation with the population resulted in a program concentration in economics and technology, nutrition and health, and education. The intent was to develop independent and dynamic problem-solving and decision-making organizations which would assume community leadership. Among the early projects, potato crop yields were increased by as much as 400 percent; a school was built and enrollment increased from 14 in 1951 to 250 in 1958; and a health post was built and the health status and nutrition levels of the population were improved (Holmberg 1960). The comprehensive and multifaceted approach of the Cornell team, although aimed at many tangible outcomes like those just mentioned, remained with the self-help community development bias. This tangible and intangible combination can be noted in the following quotation from Holmberg: "I must again stress, however, that only a broad and integrated approach to problems of development made it possible to reach the desired goals of higher standards of living, social respect, and a self-reliant and enlightened community which can eventually take responsibility for the direction of its own affairs as a functioning part of the nation" (1960:82).

After five years the Cornell lease to the hacienda expired. Thus in 1957 the Cornell team encouraged the government to expropriate the property

from the holders of the title in favor of the Indians. Up until this point there was apparently little attention paid by the local power elite to the project since it was assumed that any benefits that had occurred would accrue to the title holders. Again Holmberg offers his perception of this dilemma:

> It was inconceivable in the local area that such a property might be sold back to its indigenous inhabitants. Consequently, local power elites immediately threw every possible legal block in the way of the title reverting to the Indian community. They set a price on the property that would have been impossible for the Indian community ever to pay; members of the Project were charged with being agents of the Communist world; the Vicosinos were accused of being pawns of American capitalism; Peruvian workers in the field were regarded as spies of the American government. [1965:7]

Although the final property settlement took almost five years, as the Peruvian government apparently did little more than pay lip service to the cause of the Vicosinos, the community finally became independent in 1962 after interventions by official United States government representatives (Holmberg 1965). Other political problems in the community emerged during the early 1960s with the entrance and expulsion of the U.S. Peace Corps (Patch 1964). The issue apparently concerned a personal loan guaranteed by a Peace Corps volunteer and was followed by considerable confusion and misunderstanding in the community. Richard Patch explained the problem in the context of long-term community action programs which inevitably lead to splinter groups, some of which will seek to either control the program to their own advantage or undermine the program's efforts (Patch 1964).

The Vicos experience, at least early on in the project, can be characterized as successful in terms of the community development philosophy and method for which it stood. Even though it expanded somewhat on the self-help strategy through the research and development approach of the Cornell team, it was nevertheless a rather confined community effort. Its influence in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s on other community action efforts, however, was apparently substantial. One program which it supposedly influenced took place in the immediate environs of the Andean region and was referred to as the Andean Mission Programme (Dobyns, Doughty, and Lasswell 1971; Rubio Orbe 1957). This program was initiated in 1954 through the multilateral support of organizations such as the International Labor Organization, the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, and UNICEF. Including the initial pilot project begun in 1952, the Andean Programme was designed to be a comprehensive and holistic change effort in which all of the problems arising out of the living

and working conditions of a specific population would be attended to (Beaglehole 1953). The initial thrust of the program was in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia and by the early 1960s it was extended to Colombia, Chile, Venezuela, and Argentina (Rens 1961, 1963; ILO 1962).

The Andean Programme was intended to integrate the Indian population into the national fabric of these countries by enabling the Indians to improve their living conditions through their own efforts and to demonstrate to the society at large how Indians could strengthen the wider community economically, socially, and culturally. The strategy involved the establishment of a series of social action bases in participating countries. Reminiscent of the Mexican cultural missions, each of these bases had a team composed of a leader, agronomist, medical doctor, educator, veterinarian, social worker, nurse, midwife, vocational education instructors, and so on. The bases were designed as demonstration and apprenticeship centers where children could be given a primary education, adults provided with literacy training, youth given vocational education, and demonstrations provided for the improvement of agriculture and livestock production. An emphasis was placed on agricultural production through the introduction of new grains, irrigation and drainage systems, vegetable gardens, and so on. School construction was also stressed as a priority among Indians with the material and technical assistance coming from the program and the labor to construct them from the Indians. By 1961 some 150 schools had been built along with 12 training workshops and 25 handicraft workshops. It was estimated that during the first ten years some 250,000 individuals out of a total Indian population of between 7 and 8 million in the area had experienced some direct impact from the program. The estimated cost was $8 million for the ten-year period with the funds derived in part from host country governments and in the main from the international agencies (Rens 1961, 1963).

Although the Andean Mission Programme was intended to be multifaceted, there was criticism that it lacked this comprehensive characteristic and that it was functioning well only with partially acculturated rather than unacculturated Indians (Instituto Ecuatoriano de Antropología y Geografía 1960). There were also concerns expressed regarding staff not living in the communities where they worked or the staff's inability to speak the local language (Schweng 1962) as well as the population's being prepared to work in occupations which did not exist in the local community thus forcing them to move to secure work (Comas 1959). This last point is emphasized by Rens (1962) who also suggests that those who took courses in the basic trades and handicrafts were often disillusioned as they were unable to find either jobs or the cash

resources, equipment, and materials to establish themselves in their chosen trades. As we have seen in preceding discussions, this inability to dovetail training with work and thereby provide the incentives to encourage skill acquisition is not unique to community development.

DISCUSSION

Although there exist many other community development projects which could be discussed here (e.g., Minano García 1957; King 1958), I believe the cases mentioned provide some insight into the nature of such activity. As we have seen, community development programs generally derive their strategies from earlier community-based programs including cultural missions, cooperative extension, and fundamental education; they generally rely upon a tangible project focus as a means to organize and initiate a self-help and local initiative effort; they are usually confined to one locale and are not necessarily related to wider social structures, institutions, or programs; they are heavily dependent on outside leadership to initiate and foster the continual development of the program; and they are concerned primarily with attitudinal and value change derived from a man-oriented approach to change rather than with more material goals associated with raising levels of living.

Whereas such characteristics appear to be grounded in the literature on community development efforts, part of the problem with this type of program is the lack of application of a specific approach to social change. As an Economic Commission on Latin America publication put the issue:

> *At the conceptual level*, a systematic analysis of the doctrine underlying the movement in the different countries indicates that there is no uniformity as to concept, content, scope or specific aims. In Venezuela the emphasis is on economic development, land reform and inducing a change in the attitudes of the people; in Colombia and Peru it is on voluntary labour for building the social infrastructure; in Paraguay on financial contributions from the people; in Ecuador and Bolivia on socio-rural development; in Chile on co-ordinated work in health, education, agriculture and aided self-help housing projects; in Uruguay and Argentina on ways of helping the people to improve their levels of living, and so on. [United Nations 1964:242–43]

Whereas such an open-ended approach inherent in community development also makes it attractive to a wide audience as a social change strategy, its ambiguity accompanied by its reliance on the faulty premise of people helping themselves has contributed to its demise.

In effect, community development raised the aspirations of nearly everyone beyond what could be satisfied through such a strategy. Whereas the marginal dweller received attention but was frustrated to find that

only the resourceless change agent would be visiting, the development planner and politician expected dramatic bootstraps-type results through a minimum of both resources and planning only to find that the goals were beyond the capacity of community members. There were also early claims of success which raised expectations and attracted considerable attention as the projects appeared almost miraculous in their results. One article I came across described three communities under the sponsorship of UNESCO at Nayarit in Mexico. I shall cite, as an example of the glowing reports of the progress achieved in all three of the communities, the author's description of the project in the community of Amapa in early 1950. "After three weeks, work was completed. The streets in the village were straight and neat. Every family had a plot of land of 900 square metres. Land was reserved for a park, a market and a sports ground. All our plans for better hygiene, sanitation, home life and organized leisure had been carried out" (Aguilera Dorantes 1951:119). In reality, however, most community development schemes never achieved such goals. As ECLA (United Nations 1964) points out, most communities simply reverted to their old ways in a few months and most programs were often isolated from both the government's development goals and from any linkage with such structural changes as land reform. Even with all of these shortcomings, however, community development taught us considerable about social change strategies and was probably the immediate precursor to the current community action initiative known as integrated development.

Integrated Development

By the early and mid-1960s many Latin American development planners and practitioners were aware of the frustrations associated with community development and its primarily man-oriented strategy for social change (e.g., United Nations 1969). As with the more holistic programs, like the Andean mission, some had already attempted to build on the community development experience and move toward linking their efforts with both the delivery of other social services and in some cases with wider societal structures. The following pages attempt to provide some insight into these experiences by describing single agency and multiple agency examples. Although a discussion of a conceptual basis underlying holistic programs will follow in chapter 7, it is nevertheless important to point out some of the assumptions underlying the following cases. First, there exists an incipient recognition of the complexities of social change (Kotter 1974). This is seen in the assumption that there is not likely to be any single intervention, like basic adult

education or agricultural production techniques, that will be effective if applied in isolation from other equally important elements. This, in turn, leads to a more system-wide, rather than sectoral, approach to planning interventions. The assumption is that multiple interventions, some simultaneous and others reinforcing, will need to be coordinated and applied.

Although these more integrated and functional approaches are still characterized by numerous problems, I consider them to be the latest result and most promising approaches to change that have emerged from more than fifty years of effort in the Latin American planned social change field. A recent example of support for this trend is seen in the results of an AID-sponsored study of thirty-six rural development projects in Africa and Latin America (Morss et al. 1975). The report indicates that rural development project success depends on, among other conditions, the following: (1) the preparation of an adequate technological package; (2) the delivery of agricultural inputs on time; (3) the existence of adequate crop-specific extension services accountable to the local farmer; (4) the presence of favorable markets for products produced along with the means for getting such products to the market; (5) the involvement of the small farmer in the decision making process and a resource commitment from him to the project; (6) the existence of local organizations controlled by the small farmer, and (7) an emphasis on increasing the small farmer's knowledge, income, self-help and self-sustaining capacities. The implication of these criteria is a strategy which attends to all of the components of the social system. As an AID working paper on rural development states: "The interactions and interdependence of these complex elements make it highly unlikely that any single intervention such as increasing small farmer credit or introduction of a new technology will be effective in isolation. To the contrary, the performance of the system as a whole requires a rather large number of elements functioning effectively and within a supportive national policy structure in order to produce significant advance" (USAID n.d.:8).

One program that appears to satisfy the majority of these criteria is known as the Ecuadorian Center for Agricultural Services (CESA). CESA is an autonomous, nonprofit institution established in 1967 with the intent of enhancing political and economic opportunities of marginal rural farmers. Given the extremely slow growth of the agricultural sector relative to that of petroleum and manufacturing in Ecuador, combined with the unequal distribution of income among the rural population, CESA was created to assist the rural farmer in achieving a greater share of the nation's resources while fostering the national development process. With 57 percent of the Ecuadorian population in the rural area and the

majority of these individuals earning less than U.S. $4.00 per month, CESA personnel were confronted with what they perceived as two alternative strategies. One was viewed as a strictly capitalist option based on the transformation of a semifeudal latifundia system to be managed as a large capital-intensive business in which rural dwellers, without land, would function as wage earners. The other alternative involved the replacement of the latifundia system with community-based associations and businesses in which the control and benefits of the production would come to the workers themselves. In weighing the implications of these options, CESA felt that the capitalist system would have the short-run benefit of greater production and the more rapid assimilation of advanced technology. It was felt that the community-based approach would, however, in the long run be as efficient as the capitalist system, would involve an equal number of workers, and would augment the redistribution of income while breaking monopolistic structures. It appears that because of the potential for continuing dependency and the associated tensions among classes that are tied to the capitalist system as well as the long-term implications of self-managed, community-based organizations which would foster a more equitable distribution of income and decision-making, the alternative chosen was the *empresa autogestionaria* or self-directed, community-based enterprise.

CESA is centrally organized at the national level and works with approximately two hundred campesino groups within which are some ten thousand campesino members. The campesino groups fall into five relatively homogeneous zones based upon ecological and ethnic criteria. A CESA team covering agricultural assistance, socio-organizational concerns, and financial and accounting matters works within each zone. In the national office questions of administration, finance, research, planning, and implementation are addressed.

In contradistinction to the majority of the rural development programs encountered, CESA's strategy is global and integrated. It involves (1) agrarian reform, with the objective of redistributing the use and ownership of land; (2) credit, with minimal interest rates based upon the campesino group's production capacity and offered to organized groups of campesinos rather than individuals; (3) organizational and financial accounting assistance for the campesino groups receiving credit; (4) commercial assistance enabling campesinos to break away from traditional structures and deal more directly with the marketplace; (5) infrastructural and technological assistance, first, by aiding incipient campesino groups to organize and, second, by renting farm machinery to campesino groups at reduced rates; and (6) education, including technical assistance, consciousness raising, and basic education. As can be seen, the program

of CESA is rather wide reaching, beginning at the level of land tenure and ending with the marketing of the resultant farm products. The emphasis is clearly on ensuring that campesinos, through self-organization, receive more political and economic power.

The educational component of the program is an integral part of the total strategy and involves (1) fundamental education (literacy, mathematics, and natural science); (2) skills training with emphasis on augmenting production and the management of cooperatives; (3) consciousness raising, through a sociohistorical approach terminating with a discussion of one's place in society; (4) communication, with concentration on both oral (music, theatre, meetings, film production) and written (production of newsletters, pamphlets, art) expression; (5) organization, by placing attention on legal, administrative, and financial and accounting matters of importance to the success of the campesino organizations. The education program is organized at the national level where the primary concern is with communication among campesino groups across zones, evaluation, and matters of pedagogy including both methods of instruction and curricular content. Each of the five zones has a motivation center through which the educational programs for each zone are organized and implemented. In addition, each campesino group has its own education committee which works with a specialized educational promotor from one of the zone centers for motivation. The principles behind this trilevel organization scheme are designed, first, to promote the offering of services to campesinos; second, to work with campesinos; and finally, to be a program of the campesinos. Depending on the particular content subareas of the educational component of the CESA program, methodologies employed vary from short courses to demonstration, dialogue, sociodrama, print media, film, radio, and so on. These activities are carried out on site in campesino groups and at the zone centers.

Thus far, the total CESA program is viewed as quite successful. Inevitably, there are problems from brokers and middlemen eliminated through new marketing procedures and credit schemes. By working in areas of established consumer demand for specific agricultural products, such as rice, and by relying upon increased production volume, however, organized campesinos have increased their income and their collective political power. Thus far the government, which is said to be primarily interested in the larger landholders more akin to the capitalist alternative rejected by CESA, has neither interfered nor offered much support (Central Ecuatoriana de Servicios Agrícolas 1974).

The success of the CESA program can be attributed to its integral strategy based upon economic incentives emanating from the marketplace

as well as on the availability of credit and technical assistance. In the long run it will be the organizational base, which CESA personnel hope will begin to forge campesinos together so that they can influence national policy decisions, that will mark the success or failure of the program. Currently, campesinos supposedly know that if they can remain organized they will be more effective than if they proceeded independently as individuals. There is also supposed to be greater security felt by participating members as they receive a little above the current market value for their product by uniting with their colleagues. The major criticism of the program by others appears to be CESA's paternalistic approach to campesinos, raising the question of whether the program has in fact moved beyond the delivery of service to campesinos and into the more difficult areas of working with campesinos inside of the parameters of a campesino organized and directed effort.

Two other examples of a holistic approach applied to social change projects by a single agency are the efforts of FED in Ecuador and INCORA in Colombia. The Ecuadorian Development Foundation (FED) was established in 1968 in Quito and is directed at providing credit and technical assistance to organized groups of campesinos. FED maintains a rotating credit fund derived from private donations and used to make loans to organized campesinos who do not have access to financial assistance. In addition, FED offers technical assistance, basic education, and socio-organizational and administrative assistance to campesino organizations. The current large-scale project of FED, known as the Bolivar Project, is designed to provide a model of integrated development among small-scale, relatively isolated farmers. The project began by organizing campesinos, providing education, and formulating project plans. The objective now is to provide credit, technical assistance, and marketing channels whereby the campesino can increase production, diversify crops, develop rural artisan and skilled labor industries, initiate communal marketing centers, and so on. Participating indigenous campesinos must exhibit a minimum of organization as a group and belong to the council of campesino communities initiated and promoted by FED in the area. The council receives, reviews, and approves credit applications and, in collaboration with FED, is responsible for achieving the program's goals.

Another example of the single agency approach is that of INCORA or the Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform. The Institute provides technical assistance, supervised credit, and basic education, including management training, to campesinos and is also concerned with land redistribution and the organization of campesinos into community enterprises and other community organizations for group action. Egginton

and Ruhl (1975) conducted an investigation of the impact of INCORA by interviewing a sample of agrarian reform participants and nonparticipants as well as INCORA field personnel in four departments of Colombia. Results of the study indicate that participants in the agrarian reform were more positively influenced than nonparticipants in terms of future expectations, leadership potential, and a propensity to engage in community action. At the same time, however, the participants were not more satisfied economically nor did they express more confidence in the political system. These latter results are explained, first, in terms of the lack of actual instructional time spent with campesinos through primarily demonstrations and lectures by INCORA field personnel and, second, through the poor administration of agrarian reform. Both of these reasons are based on campesino opinions of the program. Although Egginton and Ruhl suggest, therefore, that the INCORA effort could be successful if it were better organized and operated, they are apparently not convinced that the program could achieve the economic and political goals without greater land redistribution. As they comment, "The means to peasant economic satisfaction and political system support may be along the more politically difficult road of land redistribution. An agrarian reform based largely on technical assistance is of course a much easier, more attractive strategy for the Colombian political elites. Basic land tenure patterns have been little changed from w..at they were at the reform's inception" (p. 127).

Although other examples of single-agency approaches to integrated development could be mentioned,[1] it is worthwhile to note the existence of programs organized by several agencies, each of which provides a particular type of expertise, that together coordinate their interventions into the community. Two of these, CONCORDE in Honduras and DESEC in Bolivia, are briefly described.

CONCORDE, or the Council of Coordination for Development, is composed of seven private social promotion agencies in Honduras that share similar philosophical, primarily liberationist, premises and attempt to coordinate their efforts toward common objectives. Initiated in 1971, the projects of CONCORDE are normally directed to the small semi-subsistence farmer and are designed to provide a range of educational and technical services. The participating agencies include ACPH, or the Honduran radio school program, with its attention to consciousness

[1] Other examples include the Center for Study, Promotion, and Social Assistance (CEPAS) in Panama (Lodge 1970); the Federation of Organizations for Social and Educational Assistance (FASE) in Brazil (USAID 1972); and the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences (IICA) in the Andes region (Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences 1974).

raising, community education, agricultural and artisan education, and adult basic education; FUNHDES, or the Honduran Foundation for Development, which provides credit directly to campesinos as well as indirectly through other participating agencies; APRHU, or the Association for Human Promotion, concerned with low-income housing; VITA of Honduras, which channels professional volunteer assistance to the efforts of other agencies; IISE, or the Institute of Socio-Economic Investigation, attending to research, planning, and evaluation; FCCSM, or the Federation of Consumer and Multiple Service Cooperatives, directing assistance to consumer cooperatives and the marketing of farm and artisan products; and FDJC, or the Federation of Community Youth Development, an associate member of CONCORDE, which works in the area of health as well as in small social promotion projects.

Through a central secretariat and a board of directors composed of the directors of the participating agencies, CONCORDE attempts to coordinate as well as direct its member agencies in a unified and balanced development effort. The goals include increasing the participation of marginal populations in local, regional, and eventually national decision-making processes; stimulating cooperative peasant organizations and collective decision-making; and encouraging an independent peasant destiny which provides an alternative to the consumer-oriented and U.S.-dominated capitalistic system. In effect, CONCORDE seeks to break the bonds of dependency and move toward a more participatory social system in which liberation and collective production, consumption, and decision-making are mutually supportive and predominant (Consejo de Coordinación para el Desarrollo n.d.).

Each of the participating CONCORDE agencies remains autonomous with its own financing and administration. Representatives from participating programs form eight regional teams, each composed of four to six supervisors and educators. These regional coordinators meet monthly with teams of local agency representatives, often campesinos, for orientation, discussions, and problem solving. Thus, CONCORDE has a decision-making and communication mechanism across three levels which centralizes both planning and some overall programmatic efforts while decentralizing program implementation and decision-making (Acción Cultural Popular Hondureña 1973, 1974).

A second example of a multiple agency strategy is the Center for Social and Economic Development (DESEC) in Bolivia. DESEC was organized in 1966 to promote rural development and to study the agricultural change process through the experimental application of seeds, fertilizers, and so on. Three organizations have come together to form DESEC. These include ASAR, or the Association of Artisan and Rural Services,

which is the technical assistance agency of DESEC; VIPO, or the Association of Popular Housing, concerned with rural low-income housing; and SEPSA, or the Popular Health Service, directed at promotive and preventive health care. Whereas the three branches of DESEC are independent, they coordinate their activities at a central office. The counterpart organization to DESEC among the campesinos is ARADO, or a grass-roots organization known as Rural Agriculture Action and Organized Development. It is composed of campesino representatives of local communities, zones, and regions and holds a national committee meeting every three months.

The DESEC effort includes education programs, credit provisions, the application of technology, cooperatives, marketing, research, and so on. DESEC provides its services in accord with agreed-upon priorities with ARADO. Together, they have formed yet another agency known as ICE or the Campesino Institute of Education which responds to basic education needs of farmers. DESEC has one rural promoter per zone who organizes community groups and provides basic education and technical assistance. Normally, he begins by offering a basic course to campesinos intended to make them aware of their reality and to emphasize the potential for initiating problem-solving projects. Other DESEC services are then called upon to assist with achieving community goals. The rural promoter is contracted by the campesinos and is accountable to them for his services (Centro Para El Desarrollo Social y Económico 1972).

Although the DESEC program is apparently experiencing considerable success, there remain a number of problems for resolution. One issue rests with the consumer cooperatives under ARADO which have yet to show a profit and must rely on DESEC to provide accounting and management services. To counteract these problems DESEC is attempting to initiate a national purchasing plan to buy provisions in bulk thereby making the cooperatives more competitive, and it is attempting to increase the educational levels of campesinos, enabling them to assume additional autonomy in operating a cooperative. Another problem rests with the commercialization of the agricultural production system in which DESEC has difficulty in reducing the impact of the broker or middleman. Traditionally such an individual provides credit and has a culturally based dyadic contract with a campesino thereby making the campesino-broker relationship a difficult one to break. Finally, the program is faced with the need to continually remotivate and promote community action around common problems. My impression is that the staff has yet to develop a primarily educational methodology which will lead to solving this dilemma.

DISCUSSION

It is apparent that these more integrated approaches to social change, while incorporating some of the self-help and community action biases of community development programs, have moved beyond the purely man-oriented and into the more holistic theoretical framework described in chapter 2. In effect, such efforts attempt to alter not only man's behavior with respect to his human and physical environment but also basic rules and structures, thus enabling the new behavior to be applied. Although an extremely small number of the individuals that I talked to during the course of my visits to programs can articulate any theoretical propositions underlying their efforts, they are aware at a more pragmatic level of the need to address wider societal constraints by adopting multifaceted interventions. The attention to these constraints did not come from textbooks or, for the most part, from international agencies as a master blueprint. Instead, they appear to have evolved through the frustrations associated with the more single-channel approaches discussed in the preceding chapters.

Whereas I believe these more integrated strategies have the greatest potential of any programs discussed thus far to approximate their sometimes lofty goals, they are nevertheless confronted by the same sociostructural obstacles which hinder other programs. The government bureaucracy, large landholders, and middle level brokers who control credit, transportation, and access to technology are among the problems most often mentioned. The difference with these programs, however, is that they have attempted to develop simultaneous and holistic countermeasures like community organizations, revolving credit funds, and commercial marketing strategies that make the marginal dweller more competitive in the marketplace and provide increased independence and autonomy. Although the single-channel programs of basic education, consciousness raising, agricultural assistance, and the like aspire to such objectives, the narrow approach chosen often leaves the marginal dweller on his own to put the pieces together and to achieve the program's goals.

These comments should not be interpreted as a complete approval of the specific projects and strategies described. So little research on their actual, as opposed to their stated, approaches has been carried out that one can only rely, as in the other cases, on the nature of the attempt rather than on what is or has been done. It is clear, however, that the integrated approach brings together many of the more isolated components of most social change efforts and from this standpoint the probabilities of achieving stated goals are increased. This does not mean

that integrated efforts are any less paternalistic,[2] self-perpetuating, mismanaged, or atheoretical than other efforts and it does not mean that they are able to do as well in all of their interventions as a single agency might do concentrating on a special field like education, cooperatives, credit, and so on. They do provide, however, a strategy which more closely addresses the complexities of life itself and probably offers the most promising approach for working within an existing social system for both equity and socioeconomic betterment.

It is interesting to note that such strategies are not associated exclusively with either a development or a liberation ideology. Whereas the liberationists tend to emphasize consciousness raising and a communal, semi-independent social system, the developmentalists tend to focus on community organization for assuring greater economic leverage in the marketplace. Both approaches, however, are linked to the wider socioeconomic system and both are concerned with access to power through decision-making and increased income. In fact, this commingling of such diametrically opposed ideologies demonstrates how each, given the realities of the wider social system, has compromised.

Education remains a major component in these integrated efforts, but it no longer stands alone as the center of the process. It becomes, instead, a supporting intervention which adds to the probabilities of achieving stated goals. A good example of this phenomenon can be noted in the CONCORDE multiagency strategy. Here is a case where the Honduran radio school movement (ACPH) was for many years the most viable rural promotion agency in Honduras. Through its concentration on education, however, it apparently learned of the frailties of the single-channel approach and began to act as a catalyst not only to the formation of other social promotion agencies but to the actual formation of CONCORDE. ACPH now takes its place as only one of six other programs.

Unfortunately, few other primarily educational programs in Latin America have recognized the need to combine their efforts with those of other agencies. I sense that the reasons that more agencies, educational and others, do not combine their efforts, as in the case of CONCORDE, have little to do with developing coherent strategies for social change. Instead, I believe the reasons lie in such areas as autonomy and fund raising, basic ideology, a need for self-perpetuation, and historical relations. All private promotion agencies seek the attention of either governments, international agencies, or other financial donors. Since

[2] An example comes from Ronald Hart's (1974) study of Acción Comunal in Colombia. Hart argues that whereas the administration of the program resides with the government, the actual implementation of the program has been under the control of local and regional elites.

almost none are self-financing, the payoff comes from the acquisition of grants and contracts. The agencies end up competing one with another for the attention of these donors as a coalescence of efforts is viewed as a loss of autonomy. Where agencies do not have to compete for funds, they generally have difficulty in accepting each other's basic ideological stance. This apparently occurred in Honduras a couple of years ago when CARITAS and the housewives' clubs movement, formerly a part of CONCORDE, could not accept what CARITAS indicated was a growing radicalism among CONCORDE participating agencies. In terms of self-perpetuation, all of the social promotion agencies develop a full-time staff that is dependent on the agency for its livelihood. Collaborating with other agencies may result in a duplication of personnel and thus increased risks for present staff. Finally, there are historical reasons, often revolving around personality conflicts, political or ideological disagreements, and so on, which are not easily forgotten and guide future interaction. Since many of the leaders of the agencies are well known to each other, these relationships are long term and not likely to be altered on the basis of some altruistic motive associated with improving the effects of social change efforts. These are some of the reasons underlying a lack of willingness on the part of agencies to come together in a more integrated fashion. The examples of CONCORDE in Honduras and DESEC in Bolivia, however, demonstrate the possibility of such integration. Because of financial need and because of an apparent increase in the support of integrated efforts on the part of some international donors, I believe we will see an increase in collaborative efforts in the future.

One final item with regard to integrated development concerns its focus on rural areas. Although it is clear from the other micro social change programs described in preceding discussions that the focus has been on rural populations, it should be noted that application of the strategy need not, and probably should not, be limited geographically. I believe that the rural concentration results from the emphasis placed on increasing agricultural production and the alleviation of absolute poverty by international agencies like the World Bank (Society for International Development 1972), UNESCO (UNESCO 1974), and AID (USAID n.d.). The recent discovery of the marginal man and micro social change efforts by the World Bank and AID, however, should not prevent attention to such urban problems as unemployment, underemployment, and health care. Furthermore, a holistic approach will likely not function in many areas if it is limited by a separation of urban and rural contexts. Since the characteristics of the integrated strategy attempt to build on the actual rules and mechanisms underlying a social system, issues like

the marketing of products or the acquisition of technology cannot be viewed as entirely urban or rural but instead as phenomena which transcend these rather false and often illusive boundaries.

Summary

This chapter has concentrated on two approaches to social change, community development and integrated development. It is argued that community development, through its emphasis on community self-help efforts, has generally perpetuated a man-oriented social change strategy, akin to basic adult education programs discussed in preceding chapters. Even those community development programs that move toward more multifaceted community development strategies are felt to be constrained by a lack of attention to the social structure and by an overestimation of the community members' capacity to mobilize their resources for socioeconomic change. The integrated development approach, in contradistinction to the man-oriented community development effort, adopts a more holistic and systemic approach to the change process; self-help becomes an aspect of the process rather than the major goal of the program. This approach is felt to offer the most promising model for social change as it makes attempts to link its efforts across components in the social system and is directed toward not only changing man's behavior but altering social rules and structures, thereby increasing the likelihood that new behaviors will actually be applied.

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7.

Toward a Strategy for Nonformal Education and Micro Social Change

The person who has recently been introduced to the term nonformal education and has just read the last four chapters may well ask, "So what makes nonformal education new?" The answer is probably, "Not much." Although parading under many different labels, the attempts to promote social change at the local level have a long history in Latin America, and education has figured prominently in nearly all of them. The questions now are what have we learned from this experience and where do we go from here. This chapter attempts to furnish partial answers to both questions through, first, providing a series of impressions and conclusions drawn primarily from the last four chapters and, second, by attempting to outline some thoughts on a multiple interventionist strategy based on both the man-oriented and more holistic frameworks.

The Nature and Efficacy of Nonformal Education in Latin America

The results of a recent survey of nonformal education programs in Colombia (Velandia, Vargas, and Bello 1975) provide an appropriate background to some of my own conclusions on such activities in the Latin American region. The Colombian investigators, through interviews and questionnaires designed for nonformal education program personnel, drew samples of nonformal education projects directed at marginal populations in five municipalities in each of four departments (Cundinamarca, Valle, Santander, Bolivar). As a result of finding approximately one thousand programs in Bogota, they took only a 10 percent sample there; the national sample included 432 programs. Because their survey

results do not always parallel the impressions that I have gathered through my own research, I am led to believe that we may have been operating on different criteria in defining programs and that each country may represent a special case in terms of the parameters of nonformal activities. Furthermore, whereas my goal was to trace historically the nature and strategy of such programs throughout the region, their purpose was apparently to map statistically the current scene in one country. The primary outcome of these two perspectives is the background they provide for the generation of new research questions. I report the Colombian results and then turn to a summary of some of the issues which have emerged as a result of the discussion in the preceding chapters.

Velandia, Vargas, and Bello found that 89.4 percent of the Colombian projects were dependent on other organizations and most relied on volunteers to staff their efforts. The parent organizations were divided between the public (44.7 percent) and private (54.3 percent) sectors, with 21.5 percent aligned with the church and only 1 percent with international agencies. The finances for the programs roughly parallel the sponsorship breakdown. Interestingly, the study showed that 54.8 percent of the programs were directed to urban, 13 percent to rural, and 32.2 percent to both urban and rural populations with 90.9 percent of the participants living in urban areas. It is somewhat surprising that the urban area is so predominant, not only because of what I sense in other countries to be an emphasis on rural populations, but also because of the existence of generally well-developed formal school systems in the urban sector. Also surprising is the fact that women were found to constitute the majority of the participants. This, again, runs counter to my impression that male participants predominate.

The majority of the Colombian programs were relatively recent arrivals on the scene, with the greatest growth apparently occurring since 1970. They were classified by content as follows: education for work (agriculture, artisans, and so on), 27.9 percent; family education (preschool, child care, and so on), 16.6 percent; health, 16.3 percent; community education, 15.1 percent; literacy and basic education, 11.8 percent; recreation, aesthetics, culture, and religion, 11.3 percent; and others, 1.0 percent. The incentives employed by the programs to encourage participation were also enumerated. Curiously, they do not relate well to the above classification. The Colombian investigators found that 54.5 percent of the programs used primarily social expectations, or incentives associated with recreation, social status, friendship, personal development, and interpersonal relations. The next most common incentives were formal education, or a continuation of formal studies (20.3 percent),

work (14.2 percent), and economic benefits and the availability of low cost services (8.5 percent). Although I sense that the general breakdown by incentives may be indicative of the region as a whole, I find the emphasis on family education in the content breakdown to be high. Once again, however, because I did not attempt to sample all of the nonformal programs undertaken but instead attempted to synthesize major emphases and directions, I cannot argue this point.

In terms of the methods of instruction employed in Colombian programs, I was also surprised to learn from the study that the so-called innovative approaches represent a high percentage. The researchers, for example, found that, together, the use of individualized instruction, games, peer teaching, programmed learning, theater and dramatics, and packaged instruction accounted for 26.2 percent of the methods employed. These were followed with classes or conferences (23.1 percent), group discussions (17.6 percent), demonstrations (14.2 percent), and the use of laboratories or workshops (11.5 percent). The materials of instruction were generally found to parallel the methods employed. These included television, videotape, voice recorders, radio, record players, teaching machines, and so on and accounted for 17.8 percent of the programs. The other instructional materials included blackboards (17.1 percent), books and texts (15.2 percent), maps and drawings (13.0 percent), materials for drawing (9.9 percent), transparencies and films (7.8 percent), mobile or stationary learning centers and workshops (9.6 percent), and other materials (2.5 percent). Clearly, the use of more traditional methods and materials like the print media and group discussion and classroom activity is most frequently employed. It should be noted, however, that because these are self-report data, it is difficult without actual observation over a long period to know what percentage of time is devoted to any single method or material.

The Colombian study found that research on nonformal education programs is generally limited and not very sophisticated. Some programs conduct research prior to initiating a project and even fewer do follow-up studies. Almost all programs reported that they evaluated participants at the end of the project and interestingly, 59.2 percent grant diplomas. Of those who do grant diplomas 25.7 percent are officially recognized by the Ministry of Education. This fact raises questions about the nature of the criteria used in selecting the Colombian sample of projects. My impression is that the majority of the programs I have described would not involve any certification process. Although I do not doubt the validity of the Colombian data, I believe the emphasis on diplomas raises questions about the entire nonformal education process and a need to

be clear across research studies as to the definitions employed. In this regard it is likely that I included a wider range of programs based on the modes of education approach outlined in chapter 1.

The Colombian study also reported, based on questionnaires from program directors and program personnel, that 63.7 percent of the participants have an opportunity to shape the curriculum of the program but only 21.8 percent have any say in administering the program and only 4.4 percent in its financial arrangements. In addition, fewer than 35 percent of the programs consult with participants on the methods of instruction employed. These percentages, especially involvement in curricular decision making, appear high in terms of what I could learn from looking at programs in the region. I found that the majority of programs are more hierarchical in structure than what is implied above and that when participants are consulted such consultation is likely to occur with a very small number of participants who seek to make an input.

A final result of the Colombian data indicates that 93.6 percent of the nonformal projects did not require any prior training by participants in order to enter the programs. In terms of the types of programs I reviewed, this finding is similar. It is dissimilar, however, to a recent nonformal education survey study by Riske and Rust (1975) in Trinidad-Tobago where the authors found that a formal schooling background was used as a precondition for entrance into a majority of nonformal education programs. Such a finding in Trinidad-Tobago parallels somewhat the discussion of ministries of education in chapter 3 where it was pointed out that in several countries nonformal education is susceptible to the criteria emanating from formal schools. Even in Colombia, given the rather heavy emphasis on granting diplomas for participants in nonformal programs, there is a clear implication that formal education criteria are being applied.

My conclusions on nonformal education in Latin America are drawn from a different level of abstraction than those of the Colombian study since I was not attempting to develop base line data or to describe statistically the extent and nature of nonformal education programs. These conclusions tend to fall into two categories, those which are based on the programmatic emphases discussed in the previous four chapters and those of a more organizational and administrative nature that cut across the different programs.

The reader will recall that my major interest is in a review of nonformal education programs in the context of social change. Furthermore, I am concerned with how such programs assist the marginal dweller in

achieving increased power and status through decision-making and income. Social change, therefore, implies not only an alteration in man's behavior and in the relationship between that behavior and a respective human and physical environment, but it also requires an alteration in societal rules and structures enabling the new behavior and relationships to be established.

I shall begin by enumerating the more programmatic conclusions and then turn attention to those which more generally characterize many of the efforts.

1. Implied in many educational experiences in Latin America is the notion that nonformal education should supplement and complement formal schools and that these two modes should be linked as an integrated mechanism for educational delivery. Latin America has provided several models for this kind of effort but few seem to be viable in the context of social change. The original cultural missions, which in retrospect were more akin to a community development approach, do not seem to provide a basically school-community linkage. Neither do the nuclear schools based upon the Huarizata experience. I believe that CNEC in Brazil and the family school movement in Brazil and Argentina are the most significant formal-nonformal program efforts. It is too early, however, to assess their actual potential. Although CNEC is the oldest program, one has to ask just how much community involvement and participation characterizes its operation. The family schools, on the other hand, appear to be highly participatory. In addition, the early follow-up data for APEFA in Argentina indicate that the program has had considerable success in retaining a high interest and involvement by graduates in the rural area. The problem, however, in viewing family schools as a generalizable model for Latin America is that their experience thus far is generally limited to Italian immigrant populations who have had a history of group cooperation and solidarity.

Accepting the fact that the school is often the only institution that physically exists in the rural area and that it theoretically appears to be a natural center through which one can channel other educational efforts, the reality is that except for simple information flow and the training of change agents, it has not reached its assumed change potential. Thus, the evidence to support a tenable formal-nonformal linkage for social change through school-community efforts as a generalizable model in Latin America does not appear in practice. This does not mean that school facilities cannot be used for nonformal education efforts should those efforts be directed as a component in an integrated development change strategy. The SENAI apprenticeship model is an example of this approach as it begins with industrial human resource needs and then

trains personnel through schooling and on-the-job experience. This has been feebly tried in rural areas with primary and normal school youngsters by making the school curriculum relevant to the marginal dweller's needs. In addition, Cuba currently uses a farming-school approach for secondary students. Schools in rural areas, however, have seldom been realistically linked to the world of work for adults. It is nevertheless conceivable that the school, if it were viewed as more than an institution for information flow and cognitive learning, could alter behavior that would assist in social change. I cannot conceive of its being any more than an adjunct to the process, however, and therefore believe that it should never carry the major burden for manifesting such goals.

2. Related to the use of schools for nonformal education and social change is the role of ministries of education in such efforts. With few exceptions, like that of Mexico, the ministries of education in Latin America appear to be using the out-of-school rhetoric as a way to develop a parallel school system on an extension basis. The intent is to enable adults and youth to pursue formal schooling goals through flexible time periods and local facilities. Although such efforts are laudable in terms of formal education, they fall short of the rationale underlying nonformal education, and they make the out-of-school efforts highly dependent on formal schooling criteria. There do exist examples of truly nonformal efforts, like the Massachusetts program in Ecuador and the basic village education project in Guatemala, but these are tied to AID funding and North American assistance which raises the question of how long such efforts will last once such support is withdrawn. Some ministries are also supporting private agency initiatives in nonformal basic education which generally appear more innovative than their own programmatic efforts.

Throughout these ministerial activities, there is a reliance on education per se to foster social change. Seldom does one encounter the educator forming part of a multifaceted team where his expertise in educational methods and materials can supplement the wider effort. Likewise, ministries of education seldom appear to collaborate formally with other ministries in a coordinated approach to the problems of the marginal population. Instead, the ministry of education tends to perpetuate its educational efforts while all of the other ministries, like agriculture and health, develop their own educational programs. When the educational ministry does collaborate, as in the case of the Colombian nuclear school program, it is often on its own terms and invariably as the center of the process.

3. The reliance on educational programs to foster social change can also be seen in many technical/vocational training programs. For so long we have been told by development planners that education's contribution

to national progress is through human resource development. Thus one of the first places to which we have turned is skills training programs where technically competent individuals are to be prepared. But that is the schooling model. In nonformal education we do not have the luxury of just developing human resources. Again, the SENAI Brazilian apprenticeship model appears to satisfy this concern as it attempts to link training with the world of work.

Most programs of the technical/vocational type, however, do not make attempts to link training with job acquisition. The results therefore are predictable: there are either no jobs available for such individuals or the jobs that are available are not characterized by sufficient socioeconomic incentives to attract individuals away from more lucrative and satisfying occupational alternatives. Even though I accept the fact that many Latin American economies often cannot absorb trained manpower, thereby making such education-work relationships nearly impossible to create, I do not believe that this is always the major dilemma. In the case of farmers, craftsmen, and artisans, for example, the need is not a salaried job as much as it is credit, supplies, transportation, and marketing, enabling the fledgling entrepreneur to test out the application of his skills. The point is that such programs must make attempts at linking education and work rather than placing the burden of such a goal on the participant alone. There are only a few programs in Latin America that have made such attempts.

4. Latin America has a long tradition of basic adult education and literacy programs. Unfortunately, little measurable social change impact is apparent from these programs. The reliance on a primarily man-oriented approach to social change, whether the program is development- or liberation-oriented, has typically resulted in either the nonacquisition or the atrophy of new information, skills, and knowledge and in frustration among participants. Some of these programs have apparently recognized the impotence of this reliance on educational interventions and attempted to alter their strategy. One example can be seen in the evolution of fundamental education programs. Fundamental education began with a reliance on educational inputs, turned to community development and in some cases a multifaceted approach, and finally to a more integrated strategy in which education is supplementary to, rather than the focus of, the program. Similarly, the experiences of the Honduran radio school program in literacy and consciousness raising led it to greater collaboration with complementary agencies in CONCORDE.

Because the majority of these basic education programs are not tied to wider socio-organizational or technological inputs, they likely constitute

the weakest of all of the social change strategies discussed. The use of radio and radio schools has not generally altered this weakness, as the new medium has simply expanded the potential audience without altering the relationship between education and the social structure or education and access to other social services. If basic education and literacy programs are unable to make such linkages and are unable to treat the application of new behaviors in the environment rather than the acquisition of information, attitudes, and skills as the overall goal of the program, the future of such efforts will likely result in the same frustrations and lack of impact which have characterized their existence for decades.

5. One may hypothesize that if basic adult education were associated with content areas like agriculture and health, many of the inadequacies of the basic adult education programs mentioned above would be overcome. Unfortunately, however, for many of the same reasons, these programs have not resulted in any substantial improvement over the education-focused programs. Most of these content-based activities are modeled after the ill-fated agricultural extension approach which assumes that new information and skills along with some material support will alter an individual's behavior. A classic example of such an assumption is reported by Lodge:

> In one Latin American country, a highly trained agricultural technician sent from the United States, a seed specialist, was there to assist a campesino with his tomato crop. The campesino was reluctant at first to use the fertilizer and seed offered by the technician because the farmer, operating on the margin of existence, viewed any change as a dangerous risk. Finally he cooperated, however, and as a result his crop was bigger and better than before. But the rains washed out the road to his farm so that many of the tomatoes rotted in the field because the truck to take them away could not get through. When it arrived, it was, of course, the same truck as before, owned by the same local interests who controlled all the transport in the region. The market system was also the same as before, with the result that the actual return to the farmer was not appreciably different. When the visiting expert suggested that the farmer continue on his own the following year, purchasing fertilizer and better seed, the farmer's face went blank. The credit system, unchanged by the expert's visit, precluded obtaining funds for such purchases. The expert departed, leaving the farmer more convinced than ever that change was a dangerous thing. [1970:134]

Although the example could come from content areas other than agriculture, the point is that one cannot assume the existence of other supporting mechanisms in the environment without attending to them as obstacles to the adoption of new behavior. It is this factor which makes educational interventions weak in terms of social change and it appears as applicable to content-based programs as it is to education in general.

The counterpart to many extension efforts, as pointed out in chapter 5, is the organization of community members into friendship groups, housewives' clubs, cooperatives, community enterprises, and so forth. The achievement of many social change objectives, especially those of a political and economic nature, likely depends on the existence of such organizations. The problem, however, appears to be the isolation of such organizations from other social system components and social services which are necessary to their operation and success. Educational inputs in terms of the management and administration of cooperatives along with supplies and equipment, credit, marketing, and so on all figure prominently in the development of viable community structures. Thus it is necessary to recall that such organizations are instruments for the enhancement of autonomy, power, and resources rather than merely organizations which periodically bring people together.

6. Many of the characteristics of these other nonformal education programs came together in the community development programs of the 1950s and 1960s. The self-help bias of this primarily man-oriented approach, however, did not achieve the high expectations held by either participants or development planners. Community development was the culmination of the primarily educational attempts of fundamental education and, in many respects, it became the precursor to integrated development. Community development, however, seldom achieved the long-term, multifaceted goals of social change which were often sought, as it was overly dependent on the assumption that people would and could help themselves.

The frustrations associated with both community development and the other single-channel change strategies led to what is referred to as integrated development, or a more holistic and systems-based approach to the social change process. It is believed that this approach offers the greatest potential for achieving social change as it not only attempts to move across traditional sectoral boundaries but it also reflects the realities of an interdependent social system in its interventionist strategies. The integrated approach also appears to offer a basic strategy that is applicable to both development and liberation advocates.

In addition to these more programmatic conclusions based upon the review of nonformal education and social change programs in preceding chapters, there are several additional organizational and administrative observations that I believe should be mentioned. These comments are, for the most part, based on impressions I have concerning the current efforts and future potential of nonformal education. They include the problems of coordination of nonformal education efforts, instructional materials development, research and evaluation, and the need to develop

coherent change strategies. The last of these issues is dealt with in the following section.

1. We now know that hundreds, and very possibly thousands, of nonformal education programs exist in each Latin American country. Most of them are small, primarily information-delivery-type projects that are relatively isolated from wider social change programs. In some areas literally everyone involved in these efforts knows the nature of the other projects and is prepared to offer an opinion as to their characteristics and efficacy. Unfortunately, few collaborate with one another or with other social change projects in attempting to achieve common goals. By collaboration I mean two things. First, those programs that are specialized in terms of information delivery, cooperatives, and so on, must begin to share with similar agencies their methods, materials, and approaches for their mutual benefit. Second, and to me more important, the specialized agencies working in different problem areas like education, agricultural extension, and cooperatives must link their efforts and adopt more integrated strategies. At present, these linkages seldom occur and in most cases the programs actually compete for the attention of public and private agencies for their political and financial support. From the perspective of each social change effort this desire for autonomy appears to make good sense. Because each project has a particular ideological and operational viewpoint and must support its professional cadre of staff personnel, forging a collaborative relationship with other agencies may mean making certain compromises to the perceived detriment of the project's goals and procedures. Nevertheless, for both impact and cost considerations, new ways must be found to link at least some social change efforts.

Governments as well as private and international agencies are probably in the best position to assist in linking programs together since they are the funding sources for many projects. This is not easy, however, as these parent organizations are often characterized by a need for autonomy akin to the projects they fund. Furthermore, agencies like AID are often structured internally through sectoral (health, education, agriculture, and so on) rather than intersectoral offices and are unable to deal effectively with problems requiring integrated strategies. Finally, most funding agencies foster project competition since they have only limited funds and must make choices among those programs soliciting assistance. In effect, the funding agencies perpetuate the autonomy sought by projects and create a dependency relationship which forces social change programs to continually rely on their assistance.

I sense that nonformal education programs will not be coordinated with socio-organizational and technological interventions until the funding

agencies begin to take the leadership required to provide requisite models for integrated approaches to social change. Given the CONCORDE coordination in Honduras and the DESEC multiagency strategy in Bolivia, we now know that such collaboration is both feasible and promising. It is now necessary to study these strategies in order to analyze the problems they encounter and the potential they offer as possible organizational models.

2. From the standpoint of education, one of the weakest parts of most nonformal programs I visited rests with the instructional products used in terms of information delivery. Although I envision the directed educational component in social change efforts as a supplementary aspect of the total program, it is nevertheless crucial to the introduction of at least some new behaviors. Currently, the way in which new information is communicated through all types of media, but especially through print, lacks a conceptual basis in learning theory, is drab in its presentation, confusing in its message, and inappropriate to the interests, needs, and skills of the participant. The professional educator trained in instructional product development is the natural specialist on whom numerous promotion agencies should depend in rectifying these deficiencies. Unfortunately, this kind of specialist does not generally exist in sufficient numbers and when he is present he almost always works with formal rather than nonformal education curricula.

I believe that educational establishments, especially ministries of education, can provide their greatest service to micro social change by servicing and responding to the instructional product needs of promotion agencies. Thus, rather than designing and implementing their own adult basic education programs isolated from other social promotion efforts, educators should train representatives from private agencies and other ministries to design and prepare their own educational materials. This is probably the most appropriate and natural way that educational ministries can strengthen relations with social change programs while at the same time building on what should be an appropriate specialization for at least some educational technicians. I believe that international agencies, as appropriate, could provide the initial support required to develop a cadre of such specialists in many Latin American countries.

3. As is apparent after reviewing the preceding chapters, there is a dearth of research information available on planned micro social change in Latin America. I would characterize the information that is available as primarily descriptive and of use only in discerning trends. The materials that agencies produce on their own programs are parochial and useful primarily for public relations purposes. One reason for this lack of information is that individuals involved in social promotion

activities are seldom interested or motivated to write about their programs. Another is that research can be expensive, demanding that monies available for carrying out the promotion program itself be reduced. A final reason is the lack of trained personnel available within each organization to design and implement a research study.

The research sponsored and supported by funding agencies constitutes the bulk of what is available but even these efforts are too few and scanty given the number of years agencies like UNESCO or FAO have been involved in social promotion activities. Whether these and other agencies have done research is often not known since access to reports is nearly impossible. The archives at AID must also be full of valuable material which never gets circulated through normal library channels. Furthermore, the research that is available seldom uses the impact on participants' income or decision making as a dependent measure. Instead, what often is available in educational research studies are the cognitive and affective outcomes from which one must estimate probable behavioral effects.

Clearly the social promotion agencies themselves must begin to conduct more base line, process, and follow-up studies in order to analyze the efficacy of their own efforts. Funding agencies can be supportive in this regard by not only financing such efforts but also training individuals and then relying upon Latin Americans to carry out the research. The emphasis in such investigations should probably not, at least initially, involve a World Bank-type penchant for economic studies. Instead, I would rely more on finding out what is going on in social promotion projects, including both intended and unintended outcomes of the process, before going after cost-benefit data based upon most economists' assumptions about the existence of a rational world. We don't know much about social change because we have not attempted to gather data cumulatively over time. Until we begin such research, we will always have to rely on what is said to happen rather than what actually happens.

The Need for a Holistic Approach to Change

> In my research I learned two things: First, development professionals do not know how to carry out an effective economic development program, either a big one or a small one. *No one knows how*—not the U. S. government, not the Rockefeller Foundation, not the international banks and agencies, not the missionaries. I don't know how. You don't know how. No one knows how. Second, we don't know that we don't know how. [Paddock and Paddock 1973: 299-300]

Even the most optimistic appraisal of nonformal education and micro

social change efforts in Latin America during the past forty or fifty years would likely arrive at a conclusion similar to that of the research conducted in Central America by the Paddocks. There are relatively few programs and projects to which one can turn that can be considered to have achieved long-term social change. Nevertheless, as evidenced by the recent growth of such programs, they will inevitably continue in the future. Although I am not especially optimistic about such attempts, I feel sufficiently motivated to try to bring together some thoughts on conceptualizing guidelines for a change strategy on the basis of what has been discussed in preceding chapters. I shall attempt to summarize this point of view in the few remaining pages

The reader will recall that as a result of the discussion of the theoretical literature in chapter 2, the following strategy principles were suggested: (1) understanding the needs of client populations, (2) involving clients in their own learning, (3) facilitating the transfer and application of new behaviors to the environment, (4) establishing linkages between the program and the components in the wider system, and (5) attending to incentives both internal and external to the program. As can be seen throughout the discussion of micro-level change projects in the previous chapters, few activities can demonstrate their adherence to these principles. The majority of the programs (1) find the leadership confined to external change agents who decide what needs the clients have, (2) can be characterized as paternalistic, (3) seldom foster the application of what is learned, (4) function in isolation from other societal institutions, and (5) rely upon program goals rather than wider incentives to enhance both learning and the application of that learning. Of the principles that are adhered to most often, those concerning the client's needs and involvement appear to predominate. The primary reason for this is that an orientation toward clients is inherent in the man-oriented approach to change. The result typically is, however, some form of behavioral change rather than social change as the principles not addressed are those which center on relations with the wider social system.

It is not surprising that the predominant strategy employed in nonformal education and social change programs has been tied to a man-oriented model. As we have seen, there is great faith placed in individual human beings not only to change themselves but to change the world around them. Unfortunately, in fulfilling such optimism we now know that individuals cannot promote such change without a great deal of assistance from a supportive biophysical environment, a fluid and open social structure, and an appropriate body of knowledge, skills, and technology. As the behaviorists inform us, people behave in certain ways because they have learned particular actions in particular environments. To alter man's behavior without attending to the wider environmental

stimuli upon which that new behavior is dependent reduces considerably the probability of sustaining new patterns of activity. Thus, assuming the existence of a supportive biophysical environment, there are two major themes to which attention must be paid with regard to social change. The first is the individual learner with emphasis placed on his cognitive, affective, psychomotoric, and linguistic patterns; and the second is the wider social system to which he belongs. It is absolutely essential to know as much as possible about potential constraints in these areas before initiating the design of a change strategy. Furthermore, it is necessary to intervene through a coordinated and reinforcing strategy of education, research, the initiation and strengthening of local institutions, and the provision of appropriate services and technology.

Unfortunately, the research on planned change has not taken such a broad view of the process. In fact, the empirical studies on planned change have generally concentrated on the adoption and diffusion of innovations with principles derived primarily from the psychodynamic literature. I begin by reviewing some of these empirical findings and then turn to a more holistic view of the social system attempting to integrate both perspectives.

PLANNED CHANGE: SOME GUIDING PRINCIPLES

An innovation may be defined as an idea, practice, or object perceived as new by the individual. Diffusion is the process by which an innovation spreads, and adoption refers to the decision to make full use of a new idea or innovation (Rogers and Shoemaker 1971:26). The literature on innovations includes both general case studies and more controlled efforts to treat hypothesized relationships.[1] Below are a few of the more important findings produced by these studies:

The innovation-decision process—the mental process through which an individual passes from first hearing about an innovation to a decision to adopt or reject and to confirmation of this decision—can be conceptualized in terms of four stages: knowledge, persuasion, decision, and confirmation. [Rogers and Shoemaker 1971:100]

People adopt innovations at differing rates; adopter distributions tend to follow a bell shaped curve (S-shaped when plotted cumulatively). [Rogers and Shoemaker 1971:177]

The relatively earlier adopters tend to be younger, have more dispersed reference groups, consider themselves as being deviant, are better able to deal with abstractions, and are less rigid and dogmatic. [Barnett 1953:chap. 14; La Piere 1965:chap. 6; Rogers and Shoemaker 1971:chap. 5]

Norms, social statuses, hierarchy, and so on of a social system influence the

[1] This section is based in part on La Belle and Verhine (1975).

behavior of individual members of that system. Hence, rates of adoption vary not only among individuals but also among socio-cultural systems. Innovativeness tends to be related to a modern rather than traditional orientation. [Rogers and Shoemaker 1971:28-29; Kushner 1962:9-17]

The characteristics of an innovation, as perceived by individuals in a social system, affect its rate of adoption. The characteristics on which potential adopters judge an innovation include its (1) relative advantage, (2) compatibility, (3) complexity or understandability, (4) trialability, and (5) observability. [Rogers and Shoemaker 1971:22; Kushner 1962:9-17]

The rate of adoption of an innovation is influenced by the interaction effect—the process through which individuals in a social system who have adopted an innovation influence those who have not yet adopted. The interaction effect is strengthened by homophily—the degree to which pairs of individuals who interact are similar in certain attributes, such as beliefs, values, education and the like. A problem in the communication of innovations is that the source is usually quite heterophilous to the receiver. [Rogers and Shoemaker 1971:161, 210-15]

Opinion leaders—those from whom others seek advice and information—play an important role in the diffusion and adoption processes. The two-step communication model hypothesized by Lazersfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet (1944) postulates that ideas flow through mass media channels to opinion leaders and from them to their followers. This model has since been superseded by a multi-step model positing that ideas are spread from source to audience via a series of sequential transmissions. [Rogers and Shoemaker 1971:203-10, 219-22]

Different kinds of communication channels serve different roles at different stages of the innovation-decision process. Mass media channels are often more important in changing attitudes toward innovations. Also, mass media channels are relatively more important than interpersonal channels for earlier adopters than for later adopters. [Rogers and Shoemaker 1971:chap. 8]

Based on these and other findings, a number of books have been written to help change agents broaden their perspectives and discover more effective approaches to the conduct of their work.[2] These publications generally illustrate the role of sociocultural factors and present procedural rules or strategies. Below is a list of some of their most common recommendations.[3]

The change agent must have a thorough knowledge of the main values and principal features of the client community's culture.

The change agent must earn the respect of the community's members.

The change agent must actively involve the community members in the change process.

[2] See, for example, Batten 1957; Foster 1962; and Arensberg and Niehoff 1964.

[3] See, for example, the summaries in Goodenough 1963:22-23; Niehoff 1966:10-39; Kushner et al. 1962:41-44; Rogers and Shoemaker 1971.

The change agent should tailor programs of change to fit the cultural values and past experiences of intended clients.

The change agent should concentrate efforts upon opinion leaders in the early stages of the development process.

The change agent should avoid making himself indispensable to the change process.

Niehoff (1966) helps put some of these conclusions into perspective by conceptualizing the planned change process in terms of two interacting forces: the action of the change agent and the reaction of those he expects to adopt new ideas. The agent's action consists of the techniques and strategies which are employed to convince recipients to adopt the idea; the client's reaction is the attitudes and behavior that stem from his perception of the value of the innovation. The primary process variables for the action side of the equation are (1) the methods and the type of communication used by the change agent, (2) the kind of participation he obtains from the recipients, and (3) the manner in which he utilizes and adapts his innovation to the existing cultural patterns. The principal variables pertaining to the reaction of the recipients are (1) whether they have an initial felt need, (2) whether they perceive any practical benefit in adopting the change, (3) and whether their traditional leaders are brought into the planning and implementation process.

A second way in which the directed change process may be conceptualized is to view it in terms of three stages: initiation, diffusion, and institutionalization (Speight 1973). The initiation stage extends from the time the change agent makes his presence known in the community until decisions are made by local leaders to take action to solve defined needs. During this stage the agent must establish credibility, identify opinion leaders, and work with them to establish goals which they perceive as compatible and advantageous. The diffusion stage involves the spread of changes adopted by the innovators in the community. During this period, the change agent's role is less active. Through the interaction effect, opinion leaders spread the innovation, usually through personal communication channels, to other members of the community. The third stage, institutionalization, is reached when changes are infused with value, especially as they symbolize the identity of individuals and of the community (Goodenough 1963; Selznick 1957). For those who advocate the ideology of community development, the change or development process itself must become institutionalized (Biddle and Biddle 1966; Goodenough 1963). At this point the job of the change agent is completed and he should withdraw from the community.

Though brief, the above summary should give the reader an idea of

the importance of the planned change literature to nonformal education programs. It is important, of course, because it provides a basis from which to plan experiences that will foster behavioral change. Even though there is widespread consensus regarding the planned change findings and conclusions, there exists considerable variation among the assumptions and points of view expressed. Some writers, for instance, stress changing man directly while others stress changing man's environment. Some focus on the process of change while others emphasize projects for change. In addition, for example, failures may be blamed on clients or they may be attributed to the change agent and to the nature of the proposed innovation. Nevertheless, the emphasis is on the individual—his perceptions, personality, and behavior. The innovation process itself is conceptualized as a mental process and the acceptance of an innovation is supposedly dependent on how it is perceived by potential adopters. Although such findings are important to the social change process, they are inadequate in the presence of social organizational and technological obstacles associated with the wider social system. As we have seen, the best educational intentions often go unfulfilled because of these other constraints, as they are either unrecognized or are left unattended. I want to stress, however, that these criticisms do not negate the value of the planned change literature. Instead, I believe such findings are invaluable in terms of the communication of innovations. They are simply insufficient given what we know about social change in Latin America.

THE INTEGRATED APPROACH

As a result of the inadequacies of the psychodynamically based planned change literature, I would like to turn to a more holistic framework.[4] The intent here is to construct a heuristic model to demonstrate the importance of adopting an integrated approach to social change. To initiate the discussion I draw on the work of John Honigmann (1959) who suggests that any given social situation is affected by three overlapping cultural components: ideology, technology, and social organization.[5] Honigmann does not, nor do I, see such a tripartite model as including all concepts or activities which one would necessarily include in the analysis of culture. Most such concepts left out of the

[4] For an application of the holistic approach to school-community programs in the United States see La Belle (1975).

[5] Other social scientists have used similar configurations to express this structural-functional view of culture. Thomas Rhys Williams, for example, includes language as

model involve process variables and include, for example, communication, ritual, and the life cycle; they all fall outside the model while at the same time cutting across all three of the major components. My configuration of the three cultural components is presented in figure 2.[6] Behavior, at the center of the model, is a result of the interacting impact of the three components of technology, social organization, and ideology. These three components or branches are assumed to be interdependent as any one may be viewed as the independent variable in order to note how it affects the others.

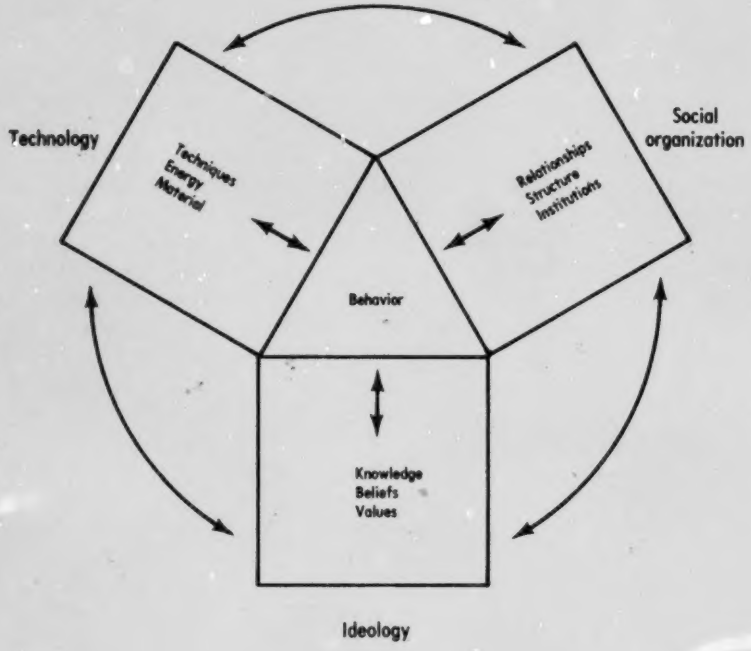

Figure 2. Heuristic model of culture

a fourth component of the culture model. See his *Introduction to Socialization: Human Culture Transmitted.*

[6] I am indebted to my colleague Johannes Wilbert for the basic skeleton of the model.

Ideology refers to the beliefs, knowledge, and values by which man lives; *technology* refers to both activities and the material objects by which man manipulates his material world; and *social organization* refers to the activities and structures used by man to interact with other men. Thus through these three perspectives, it is assumed that one is better able to analyze a sociocultural system in process.

It is worthwhile to comment briefly on each of these components. Honigmann views ideology as including "socially standardized beliefs about the universe and man's place in it; conceptions about the sources of illness and other sorts of danger; attitudes of belonging, allegiance, and identification; sentiments about persons, objects, places, and times; . . . values concerning what to do and what not to do; [and] the material embodiments of ideas, like printed books and pictures" (p. 590). As is apparent, Honigmann views this category as having heavy cognitive and affective loadings. I would argue that ideology is the point through which schools and other educational programs make their major contribution to a sociocultural system. They, along with other institutions like the family and the church often assume that changing man's internal state will result in changing his behavior.

Technology, the second cultural component, is described by Honigmann as the techniques of a community. Thus "technology covers any act by which man handles, gathers from, or modifies his geographical environment as well as the practices by which he modifies his own or another human body" (p. 290). Whereas the ideology component encompasses the motives for action in a social situation, technology is the manifestation of the available energy sources which condition other factors in a way of life. For our purposes, technology is also a point where education makes a contribution. Here, however, the concentration is on the techniques taught to individuals enabling them to manipulate the material world. I am thinking, for example, of cultivation, animal husbandry, hunting and fishing techniques, technical-vocational skills, and techniques relating to manufacturing, commerce, and industry.

Honigmann defines social organization, the third component of culture, as including "everything that transpires in a web of established relationships (i.e., in the social structure)" (p. 342). Whereas Honigmann includes kin groups, instrumental groups, and associations as major examples, I view this component as also including the ways in which individuals organize their relationships and interactions with others, placing emphasis on the structural and institutional aspects of culture. Thus I include, for example, kinship, economic, legal, religious, political, and educational institutions as well as vertical and horizontal relationships embodied in a social structure. Although organized educational

activities are found here, traditionally their contribution to the way in which man organizes his interactions institutionally and structurally is assumed to be limited to the reinforcement of norms emanating from other components and subsystems. It is in the social organization component where informal characteristics of nonformal education are likely to predominate.

It is assumed that the cultural components and the subsystems of each component as presented here will not be equally emphasized by all sociocultural systems. Because the components are in a state of disequilibrium with each mutually supportive of the other two and thus interdependent, the emphasis placed on any one of the components or subsystems in any given sociocultural system may vary from one such system to the next. Although the use of one component over another as a predictor of potential change in a given sociocultural system may vary, one can assume that because of the interdependence of the system, an alteration in any one component will result in some adaptation to be reflected in the other two.

The heuristic model presented here offers both an analytic and applied framework. The analytic use is primarily that of assessing the interdependence of the components of sociocultural systems and describing the impact of any one component on the total system or on the other components. In the applied framework, the model provides a perspective on planning interventions for social change in a particular sociocultural context. It is assumed that there are three major points in the model where interventions can be fostered. These are the three components of the system: ideology, technology, and social organization. Directed education traditionally makes its primary input through the ideology component in terms of the transmission of information. If, however, as the model suggests, a population's behavior is a result of the interaction of the three components, this single intervention is often not sufficient to manifest desired changes. If this is true, additional attention must be given to both technology and social organization as they require distinct treatments.

For example, let us take the case of the agricultural technician described by Lodge and quoted earlier in this chapter. The reader will recall that the technician was sent to assist the campesino with his tomato crop. The campesino viewed the use of a new fertilizer and a new seed as a dangerous risk given his economic marginality. He used the new supplies and grew a better crop but transportation arrived late and some of the tomatoes were lost. The middleman who owned the truck and marketed the product took his normal share of profits and the campesino was left with a return on his investment similar to previous

years. The following year the technician returned expecting the farmer to purchase seeds and fertilizers but the credit system had not changed and no funds were available for the purchases. The campesino's belief about risks being dangerous was reinforced.

The case fits the model quite well. The technician attempted to provide new information against what the campesino believed and knew would not succeed. Thus, the technician relied upon a primarily psychodynamic approach to social change through the ideology component of the model without knowing what the campesino knew of the potential obstacles. Then the technician introduced new seeds and fertilizers or opted for an intervention in the technology component of the model. The crop grew well but did not enhance the campesino's income as a result of the existence of the structural constraints surrounding the transport and marketing system. Thus, the technician failed completely to attend to the social organization component of the model. Finally, because the rules underlying the credit system went unchanged, also part of the social organization component, the campesino could no longer participate in the project. The point of this example is that one cannot assume that providing new information or supplies will ensure that the participant will employ new behaviors to achieve desired ends. Instead, it should be assumed that interventions must be made in all of the components of the sociocultural system in order to increase the probability that the learner will be able to take action in and on his environment in new ways.

It should be obvious that education per se is impotent without these additional inputs. Thus, as we have seen throughout the previous discussions, technical/vocational training, basic adult education, extension education, and community development are all single-channel interventions in the presence of a reality that demands attention to all three channels. Whereas each of the programmatic areas may be crucial to the entire process, alone it is weak and ineffective.

A major drawback of using a systems approach to change is the difficulty of assessing cause and effect. For example, on the assumption that one component is more important than another in developing a change strategy, the question arises as to where one should begin the process. A review of the prior literature may suggest to some that the structural constraints in the social organizational component are crucial whereas to others the major obstacle may rest with the availability of technology. Freire would likely say that the ideology component would be most important. To me, however, the particular situation indicates where the major obstacles rest and, further, I accept the assumption that all social situations are influenced in some way by all three components.

Thus, each position above may be correct given certain goals and certain constraints in a specific setting. Nevertheless, each component must be assessed in terms of its potential in constraining the achievement of chosen goals and procedures.

Lodge (1970) employs a similar systems approach in analyzing social change in Latin America. He states: "An effective change engine, therefore, is sensitive to the entire problem circle and is capable of dealing with several problems, as appropriate, more or less simultaneously. It must be able to move in many directions at once and work in the political and social sphere as well as the economic sphere" (p. 142).

Although there will always be those who attempt to reduce the change process to its lowest common denominator, I prefer to look at the model as a source of questions about the interaction of various components in the social system. For example, can agricultural productivity and income rise in the absence of local institutions? Does the adoption of technological inputs like seeds and fertilizers depend on the existence of viable extension and marketing systems? Do the existence of local institutions like community enterprises depend on the availability of so-called packages of services including credit, markets, and directed educational efforts? One way to secure preliminary answers to such questions is to analyze those programs described in earlier chapters which appear to satisfy the multiple intervention approach implied in the model.

The most obvious examples employing a multiple intervention approach are those mentioned in the integrated development section of chapter 6. In almost every case, the programs intervene in the ideology component through basic adult education, consciousness raising, agricultural information, and so on. In the technology component these programs may make provision for credit, irrigation systems, seeds, fertilizers, and transportation. Likewise, the integrated development projects make interventions in the social organization component. Here the emphasis is on the development of local institutions like cooperatives or community enterprises, access to market facilities, elimination of middle-level brokers, and so on. It is interesting to note the ways in which the developmentalists and liberationists differ in their multiple interventionist approach. Whereas the development advocates are likely to stress the integration of participants into the wider system, the liberation advocates appear to emphasize the establishment of an alternative social system. For example, the former may emphasize a banking approach to basic education, capital-intensive technology, and participation in the national and international marketplace through production cooperatives which attempt to make their products more competitive. The liberationists, however, are more likely to stress consciousness raising, labor-intensive

technology, and the development of local institutions like cooperatives and community enterprises whose goal is self-sufficiency in both production and consumption, combined perhaps with some participation in the national marketplace. The heuristic model does not appear to constrain the methods or the goals espoused by either the development or the liberation advocates.

These integrated approaches are not the only projects which appear to satisfy the strategy implied in the model. Both the SENAI apprenticeship training program and the PIPMO manpower training program in Brazil, for example, appear to satisfy the guidelines as they provide basic education and technical skills, and they attempt to guarantee employment. Thus each component of the social system is affected in an appropriate way to achieve both behavior change and a means for that behavior to be applied in the environment. The result is a potential increase in an individual's socioeconomic power. There are other examples of programs mentioned in previous chapters that approach or satisfy the model's implications, but I would like to turn to two somewhat different examples involving literacy and consciousness raising.

The first case is the consciousness-raising experience of Paulo Freire in Brazil and the second is the literacy campaign of Cuba. Both programs involve a primarily ideological intervention through education and a secondary intervention in technology through the provision of literacy skills. As the reader will recall from the discussion in chapter 4, the Freire activity occurred in the early 1960s during a period of apparently radical attempts to awaken the marginal population to the reality of its oppressive existence. The program lasted until the change in government in 1964, at which time the radical movement was discontinued and Freire was jailed. Thus while the political subsystem of the social organization component remained constant and was either supportive or oblivious to that which was occurring, the program remained intact. When that component was altered, however, the program was halted. The Cuban experience was not dissimilar, except that the Castro government remained in power despite primarily externally induced attempts to have him removed. Thus, the continued support from the social organization component of the system in Cuba and its absence in Brazil clearly made a significant difference in the success of the two efforts.

These examples demonstrate the fragile nature of micro social change efforts within a social system. Even though such programs affect such a relatively small number of individuals, they are extremely vulnerable to attack should they not be attentive to the pressures of decision makers in the wider system. There is obviously no answer to such a dilemma. All one can do is to be cautious in relying exclusively on horizontal

linkages at the community level in societies which are characterized by vertical and hierarchical relationships. Without the existence of apathy, neglect, or recognized support by the power elite, those nonformal programs seeking new structural relationships are likely to experience consequences similar to those of Freire and his colleagues in Brazil.

In conclusion, I have attempted to demonstrate the importance of taking a more holistic approach to planned social change by adopting a multiple interventionist model assumed to increase the probabilities that both behavior change and the application of that behavior can be made manifest. The model presented is a gross device of a heuristic nature which lacks a great deal in terms of the exacting knowledge and techniques needed to plan and design the change process. Nevertheless, it is an attempt to go beyond the primarily man-oriented approach which characterizes not only the majority of the nonformal education and micro social change programs but also the empirical research which has been directed to the field of planned change. Thus, through what is known about the communication and adoption of innovations process accompanied by the more holistic approach argued for here, it is possible to overcome at least some of the weaknesses associated with many of the social change efforts described in the other chapters and to satisfy the social change principles based on the theoretical literature reviewed in chapter 2. From the planned change literature, for example, we can receive guidance in terms of understanding the needs of client populations and the involvement of clients in their own learning whereas from the more holistic model we can derive assistance in understanding relationships with components in the wider social system, the transfer and application of new behaviors to the environment, and the importance of attending to incentives both internal and external to the program.

Although I believe that this more holistic approach offers some room for optimism, there is, as de Vries (1968) suggests, no "golden key" to achieving sought-after social change goals. In fact, it is puzzling to note how little we know about such answers given the large human and financial commitment that has characterized social change efforts for so many years. If anything, however, we do know that, given its past performance, we should not be overly optimistic regarding nonformal education's contribution to such a complex and interrelated set of processes. This kind of pessimism, however, will obviously not forestall yet another government, international organization, or private agency from using the nonformal education rhetoric to both address and claim resolution of a society's ills. As those who lived through and watched the planned change process during the last forty or fifty years would likely affirm, the nonformal education rubric will probably ride the crest

of faith much as its predecessors did and will no doubt give way to yet another term through which a better life for all will be promised. One day, perhaps, it will be recognized that directed education is a better mirror to society than a catalyst to social change and that a change in rhetoric is no substitute for a lack of realism and knowledge when it comes to altering both behavior and societal rules and structures. Perhaps.

Summary

A nonformal education program survey in Colombia provides a background for my own impressions and conclusions about nonformal education efforts in the Latin American region. These conclusions center on the topics discussed in previous chapters, including school-community programs, the nonformal involvement of ministries of education, technical/vocational training, adult basic education and literacy efforts, content-based adult education and community organization programs, and community and integrated development efforts. In addition, I present three more thematic conclusions based primarily on organizational and administrative concerns: the problems of coordinating nonformal education programs, the need to improve the instructional products used in the programs, and the dearth of research carried out both for program decision making and for assessing the impact of nonformal education and micro social change efforts.

The second section of the chapter briefly reviews the empirical literature on planned change and introduces a more holistic approach to social change based upon the work of John Honigmann. It is argued that whereas the planned change literature is primarily psychodynamic in orientation, it nevertheless provides considerable insight into the communication and adoption of innovations processes. Where it does not offer much assistance, however, is in coping with the wider components of the social system. A combination of the man-oriented and holistic approaches, therefore, is felt to provide the soundest basis for planned nonformal education and social change programs.

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Nonformal Education and Social Change in Latin America

by Thomas J. La Belle

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Thomas J. La Belle is assistant dean for research and international programs and associate professor in the UCLA Graduate School of Education. He is editor of *Education and Development Latin America and the Caribbean* and *Educational Alternatives in Latin America: Social Change and Social Stratification* and author of *The New Providers: Alternatives to Formal Secondary Education* as well as numerous journal articles.

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